

WAR-TIME SPEECHES
A COMPILATION OF PUBLIC
UTTERANCES IN GREAT BRITAIN
(1917)



JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS

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WAR-TIME SPEECHES

*A Compilation of
Public Utterances in Great Britain*

BY

Lieut.-Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts,
P.C., K.C., M.L.A.

In connection with the session of the Imperial War Cabinet
and Imperial War Conference, 1917

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WAR-TIME SPEECHES

A Collection of
Public Discourses in Great Britain



Edited by the Hon. J. C. D. [illegible]
and the Hon. J. C. D. [illegible]

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FOREWORD

I HAVE been strongly urged to publish in pamphlet form some of the speeches which I have recently made in this country. To this I have finally agreed, in spite of their ephemeral character and their rough unpolished form. The fact is that these speeches were made from very brief notes and that for their reproduction I am now dependent on the actual form in which they were delivered as reported in the Press, often in a very condensed form; indeed, some of my addresses were summarised to such an extent that their reconstruction from the reports has been found impossible.

In spite of their form, however, a general unity of ideas runs through them all, which I hope has proved helpful and may in pamphlet form interest a wider circle. The speeches all deal either with our war aims or the British Empire or the future government of the world. These three subjects are, in my mind, closely related and rest on the same basis of ideas. Whatever the causes and origins of the war, the continuous increasing pressure of this vast calamity on the human spirit has pushed to the front the basic ideas on which our Western civilisation rests, and is silently bringing about a far-reaching change in our political and social outlook.

The military aspects of the war so absorb our attention that we are apt to forget the still more important

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moral aspects, and to overlook the fact that the suffering of such multitudes is slowly but surely working a great psychological change, which will lead to results far beyond any that were contemplated at the beginning of the war. However hard we are striving for victory—and victory to my mind is essential for a well-ordered, lasting peace—we should not aim merely at a military victory, but still more at such a moral victory as will become a steadfast basis for the new order of things. This could be done by making people realise the fundamental ideals which underlie our essential war aims. If we are to achieve the permanent destruction of that military Imperialism which has drifted from the past like a monstrous iceberg into our modern life, we must create a new temperature, a new atmosphere for Democracy, and strengthen the forces of freedom and national government and self-development at the same time that we work for the free co-operation of the nations in future, in pursuing the common ideals of a peaceful civilisation. Military Imperialism, more briefly called Prussianism, was one method to counteract the anarchy of the individual sovereign States of modern Europe—a very disastrous method. For it will have to be substituted a new method, based on a powerful and widespread public opinion, which will reconcile the individual freedom of States with co-operative machinery in the first instance for the preservation of peace, and later for securing other essential common aims of civilisation. The method of subjection by force will have to give way to the method of co-operation on the basis of freedom.

This ideal of an organised free co-operative basis for the future Society of Nations, which would have ap-

peared chimerical before the war, is so no longer, though many generations will elapse before it will be in full working order. The interesting point is that in the British Empire, which I prefer to call (from its principal constituent state) the British Commonwealth of Nations, this transition from the old legalistic idea of political sovereignty based on force, to the new social idea of constitutional freedom, based on consent, has been gradually evolving for more than a century. And the elements of the future world Government, which will no longer rest on the Imperial ideas adopted from the Roman law, are already in operation in our Commonwealth of Nations and will rapidly develop in the near future. As the Roman ideas guided European civilisation for almost two thousand years, so the newer ideas embedded in the British constitutional and Colonial system may, when carried to their full development, guide the future civilisation for ages to come. But some development in the structure of our Commonwealth and the greater equalising of its constituent parts will be necessary before the British precedent could be fruitfully applied to the Society of Nations at large.

That is roughly how the constitutional ideas underlying our Commonwealth seem to me to connect, on the one hand with the ideals for which we are fighting in this war, and on the other with the larger world order which will in future replace the chaos of our present international system.

In the following speeches rough popular expression is given to these ideas. My hope is that these ideas will more and more mark the goal at which we are consciously aiming through this tragedy of sorrow, and will give us that inner strength and resolution which will

enable the Allied Democracies to hold on till victory is achieved. We shall then fight on, not in a dull, desperate spirit for low material ends, but in a conscious, joyous co-operation with the spiritual forces of progress towards a better future for man.

J. C. SMUTS.

LONDON,
31st May, 1917

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THE WAR AND EMPIRE PROBLEMS

A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Luncheon given by the Empire Parliamentary Association to the members of the Imperial War Cabinet, at the House of Commons, April 2nd, 1917.

The Toast of "The Oversea Ministers" was proposed by the Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was responded to by Sir Robert Borden and General Smuts.

WAR-TIME SPEECHES

THE WAR AND EMPIRE PROBLEMS

I AM extremely grateful to you for the reception you have given me. I feel very much embarrassed to-day in following two such speakers as Mr. Long and the Prime Minister of Canada.

I feel on this occasion that South Africa is not putting her best foot forward. I could wish that General Botha was here to-day to be bracketed with Sir Robert Borden in reply to the toast of the Dominions, but unfortunately he could not be here. He is bearing a burden in South Africa which no other man can bear, and it is a misfortune in a certain sense that I have to take the place of my right hon. friend.

We feel profoundly grateful to you, Mr. Long, for the references you have made to the effort of the Dominions in this war. No doubt, it is a great effort. But I must frankly confess that what has impressed me far more profoundly in this war is the effort and the spirit of the United Kingdom.

When we consider that this nation was not organised on a military basis, that it was a nation built on peace institutions and founded on a commercial basis, and not intended for such a crisis as has overwhelmed the world now, I say that the effort that has been made

by this nation is one to which it is almost impossible to do proper justice. That effort, and the spirit which is even greater than the effort, are the pledge of certain success in the future. I am as sure as I can be of anything that this spirit which the British nation has developed is such that all will be well in the end, however hard it may be before the end comes.

With regard to the Dominions, we have listened to the very eloquent and wise speech which Sir Robert Borden has made, and it is certainly a marvellous effort which has been made by the Dominions. Is it not a wonderful thing that the Dominion of Canada by herself has made an effort almost equal, if not quite equal, to that made by Great Britain in the Boer War? Here you have an outlying nation of the Empire which has raised almost half a million men in the course of this war. I am credibly informed that, in proportion to her population, the effort of Australia has been almost more magnificent. As regards the Empire of India I cannot speak with authority, but I can say, as one who has commanded thousands of Indian troops in one of our campaigns, that I never wish to command more loyal, braver, and better troops. The Indian troops who are now breaking up the Turkish Empire in Mesopotamia are making a contribution to the war which should never be forgotten. New Zealand, the most British of all the Dominions, has made a magnificent effort; with a small population of a little more than a million, she has raised approximately 100,000 men. This is an effort of which we might all well be proud. The same applies to Newfoundland.

What can I modestly say about South Africa? We started this war with an internal convulsion in the

country. Unlike any other parts of the Empire, we first had to set our own house in order. That was done. We secured peace and quiet in South Africa, and to-day the German flag, except in a small and fever-ridden district, is not flying south of the equator. You have to remember—I do not want to be parochial, but the case of South Africa is significant for our whole position in this war—you must remember that, unlike the other Dominions, this work was done by a Dominion the majority of whose white population is not British, but Dutch. You have to remember that only fifteen years ago a very large portion of this population was locked in deadly conflict with the British Empire. And when you bear in mind these facts and see what has been achieved, I think you will agree with me that South Africa has done her share, and more than her share.

How was this done? Here I come to the wider issue. It was done because the Boer War of 1899-1902 was supplemented, was complemented, or compensated by one of the wisest political settlements ever made in the history of this nation. I hope that when in future you draw up a calendar of Empire-builders you will not forget the name of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. He was not either intellectually or politically a super-man, but he was a wise man with profound feeling and profound political instinct, and he achieved a work in South Africa by one wise act of statesmanship which has already borne, and will continue to bear, the most far-reaching results in the history of this Empire.

This completed what was begun in the Boer War, and it switched South Africa again on to the right track and the British Empire again on to the right track, because, after all, the British Empire is not founded on

might or force, but on moral principles—on principles of freedom, equality, and equity. It is these principles which we stand for to-day as an Empire in this mighty struggle. Our opponent, the German Empire, has never learned that lesson yet in her short history. She still believes that might is right—that a military machine is sufficient to govern the world. She has not yet realised that ultimately all victories are moral and that even the political government of the world is a moral government. The fundamental issue in this struggle in which we are engaged to-day is that the government of the world is not military, and it cannot be brought about by a military machine, but by the principles of equity, justice, fairness, and equality, such as have built up this Empire.

You see the effects of this already. Germany started enormously strong and preponderant in military strength over the world. What have we seen? Simply because we have a just and good cause and simply because she has been trying to hack her way through in a military sense, one country after another has dropped away from her. Two of her own treaty nations have dropped away from her, and to-day, almost all over the world, you will find the nations coming together against her. America has not yet declared war. Nobody knows what America may do, but I say that if America does not go into this war to-day, she will go in to-morrow because the German attitude will force her sooner or later into open conflict. That is what Germany has achieved by the principle for which she is fighting. I am sure, if we continue to found our issue on those high principles that have actuated us so far through our history, the end is certain and Germany is already defeated.

Morally and politically she is already defeated, and all that remains now is the final issue on the field of battle.

I do not conceal from myself that the position is a grave one—that the Central Empires are an enormously strong military combination, and when I speak of ultimate victory I do not hide from myself that we have hard work in front of us and that there are difficult times ahead of us. There is no doubt, after the long time the war has lasted—almost three years—and the exhaustion which is overtaking Central Europe, that they cannot continue much longer, and that by the autumn that is now before them they will probably make their maximum military effort. They are flouting the opinion of the world in a way they have never done before, and in a way which suggests that they must try hard at any cost to achieve some definite result this summer.

As to the submarine campaign, I am fully convinced that that campaign is not going to settle this war. At the best it is, as it were, a raid on our wide Empire communications. The raids will be severe from time to time and will inconvenience us very seriously, but they will not lead to our defeat. No mere raid on lines of communications ever yet led to the defeat of any army in the world. This summer, I think, we shall probably see the submarine effort on which Germany is relying fail in its intention, and then, earlier than many of us think, we shall hear of peace again. As Sir Robert Borden has assured us, this nation is not inspired by any vengeful feeling, by a desire to destroy the German nation. We are actuated by higher motives. We are not going to decline to a lower level of mere vengefulness and hatred. I am sure the nation will at the end make a

wise settlement not only in its own interests, but in the interests of the whole of Europe.

As to the future constitution of the Empire, I do not wish to speak on that subject at any length. I do not think this is the time or that it is necessary to do so, but I think one word of caution should be expressed. A great deal of political thinking on this difficult and most important of all subjects has already been done in the United Kingdom, and a great literature is growing up around it. Let me give you one word of warning. In thinking of this matter, do not try to copy existing political institutions which have been evolved in the course of European development. The British Empire is a much larger and more diverse problem than anything we have seen hitherto; and the sort of Constitution we read about in books, the sort of political alphabet which has been elaborated in years gone by, does not apply and would not solve the problems of our future. We should not follow precedents, but make them. I feel sure that in the coming years, when this problem is in process of solution—because it will never be finally and perfectly solved—you will find our political thought will be turned into quite new channels, and will not follow what has been done anywhere else either in the old world or the new, because, after all, we are built on freedom.

We see growing up before us a great number of strong free nations all over the Empire. Nobody wants to limit their power of self-government. No single man outside a lunatic asylum wants to force these young nations into any particular mould. All that we want is the maximum of freedom and liberty, the maximum of self-development for the young nations of the Empire,

and machinery that will keep all these nations together in the years which are before them. I am sure if we disabuse our minds of precedents and preconceived ideas we shall evolve, in the course of years, the institutions and machinery that will meet our difficulties.

I am full of courage, and I am encouraged and inspired by the spirit which I have seen in this island since I came here; and I think that that spirit, more than anything else, is a pledge of the victory which lies before us.

**THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL
RELATIONS IN THE EMPIRE**

A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Session of the Imperial War Conference on April 16th, when speaking to the following resolution, moved by the Prime Minister of Canada.

Resolution:—

The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the War, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.

They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.

THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS IN THE EMPIRE

I NEED hardly point out that this is far and away the most important point on the agenda of our Conference this time. The British Empire is the most important and fascinating problem in political and constitutional government which the world has ever seen. Whenever we come to this question of a proper Constitution for this Empire we touch on the very gravest and most important issues. As a matter of fact we are the only group of nations that has ever successfully existed. People talk about a league of nations and international government, but the only successful experiment in international government that has ever been made is the British Empire, founded on principles which appeal to the highest political ideals of mankind. Founded on liberal principles, and principles of freedom and equality, it has continued to exist for a good time now, and our hope is that the basis may be so laid for the future that it may become an instrument for good, not only in the Empire but in the whole world.

The subject-matter of this resolution, as Sir Robert Borden has stated, has been carefully considered, and although, quite properly, a definite decision on the main problem is to be postponed for future action by a more important Conference than this, yet certain principles are affirmed here in this resolution which are very important

and far-reaching. The resolution refers, in the first place, to the question of the status of the self-governing Dominions. That matter has already been referred to both by Sir Robert Borden and by Mr. Massey, and I wish to say a few words in reference to the point. The resolution says that any future settlement that is come to must "be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth." The whole question of the future status of the Dominions is therefore raised in this resolution. So far the British Empire has developed along natural lines. The Dominions started as Colonies and as settlements of the Mother Country and of the British Isles. They started as Crown Colonies; they developed into self-governing Colonies, and now they have become the present Dominions. Other parts of the world have been added to the Empire, until to-day we have really a congeries of nations. These old Colonies and the present Dominions have in course of time increased in importance, increased in population and in economic influence, and are to-day already playing a part in the world which seems to my mind to make it very necessary that their status should be very seriously considered, and should be improved. Too much, if I may say so, of the old ideas still cling to the new organism which is growing. I think that although in practice there is great freedom, yet in theory the status of the Dominions is of a subject character. Whatever we may say, and whatever we may think, we are subject provinces of Great Britain. That is the legal theory of the Constitution, and in many ways which I need not specify to-day that theory still permeates practice. I think that is one of the most important questions that will have to be dealt

with when this question of our future constitutional relations on a better and more permanent basis comes to be considered. The status of the Dominions as equal nations of the Empire will have to be recognised to a very large extent. The Governments of the Dominions as equal Governments of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be recognised far more fully than that is done to-day, at any rate in the theory of the Constitution if not in practice. That is the most important principle laid down in the second part of this resolution, that there should be "a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations." And to strengthen the point the resolution goes on to affirm that the existing powers of self-government should not be interfered with. Of course, there is a good deal of feeling of natural and justifiable jealousy in the Dominions as to the rights which they have acquired and which they do not like to be tampered with, and I think it is very wise to add this to the resolution, that their existing powers of self-government should not be tampered with. If that is so it follows that one theory, one proposed solution of our future constitutional relations, is negatived by this resolution. If this resolution is passed, then one possible solution is negatived, and that is the Federal solution. The idea of a future Imperial Parliament and a future Imperial Executive is negatived by implication by the terms of this resolution. The idea on which this resolution is based is rather that the Empire would develop on the lines upon which it has developed hitherto; that there would be more freedom and more equality in all its constituent parts; that they will continue to legislate for themselves and continue to govern themselves; that whatever executive action has to

be taken, even in common concerns, would have to be determined, as the last paragraph says, by "the several Governments" of the Empire, and the idea of a Federal solution is therefore negatived, and, I think, very wisely, because it seems to me that the circumstances of the Empire entirely preclude the Federal solution. Here we are, as I say, a group of nations spread over the whole world, speaking different languages, belonging to different races, with entirely different economic circumstances, and to attempt to run even the common concerns of that group of nations by means of a Central Parliament and a Central Executive is, to my mind, absolutely to court disaster. The experiment has been tried in the United States and, it is said, with great success. Well, the experiment in the United States has not lasted very long, and we must see whether it will continue successfully under the stress of the great experience into which America is now entering. But I am informed by those who are very close observers of American government and American institutions that they are certain that the experiment has reached its utmost limits. In that case you have a compact country, a compact half continent, where people live together, where they all go through the same mould, and where they are all formed more or less on the same lines; whereas in this Empire you have an entirely different state of affairs. The young nations are developing on their own lines; the young nations are growing into Great Powers, and it will be impossible to attempt to govern them in future by one common Legislature and one common Executive.

Then if we are to continue as nations and to grow as nations and govern ourselves as nations the great question arises, How are we to keep this Empire to-

gether? That is the other important point, I take it, in this resolution—the point which recognises that there should be effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all common concerns, especially in concerns which are mentioned there specifically, that is foreign policy; that in all common concerns there should be effective arrangements for continuous consultation. Setting aside the Federal solution as not applicable to this Empire, which is not merely a State but a system of States—setting aside that solution, the question arises how you are to keep the different parts together, and it can only be done on the basis of freedom and equality which has existed hitherto, only the machinery would have to be arranged on which that system could be worked. I think it will not pass the wit of man to devise ways of continuous consultation—not intermittent, not every four years as we have had hitherto, but continuous consultation. Sir Robert Borden has pointed out in that great speech of his at the Parliamentary dinner—one of the wisest speeches I have ever listened to—that the practice which has now arisen spontaneously of a double Cabinet may in the future provide the germs of a solution. I express no opinion upon that, because very intricate constitutional questions are bound up with that, and it is quite possible to arrange this system of continuous consultation and conferences even on a different basis and yet make it perfectly workable and feasible as a means of keeping the different parts of the Empire together. It seems to me that some such machinery will have to be devised, and that it will not be difficult to devise it once we come to sit round the table and discuss the matter carefully. In that way it will be possible, while leaving full executive action to the

various more or less equal Governments of the Empire, while leaving full executive responsibility to them, to see that in all important concerns there is consultation and continuous consultation; that there is an exchange of ideas, and that the system, whilst preserving freedom and equality in its parts, will work with a strong sense of unity at the centre.

I think, if this resolution is passed, we shall have taken an immense step forward in the history of the Empire. If we pass no other resolution at this Conference than this one, I am sure that we shall have done a good day's work for this Empire. We are emerging out of one era and we are entering upon another where much greater problems will confront us than ever before. So far it has been possible for us each to go his own way, meeting once in so many years. In future, it will be necessary for us to keep much more closely in touch with each other.

These are the principles which are affirmed in this resolution, leaving the actual solution of our constitutional problem to be dealt with hereafter. These are the principles which are affirmed here, and I heartily endorse them and give my adhesion to this resolution.

**THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH
OF NATIONS**

A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Banquet given in his honour by members of both Houses of Parliament on May 15th, 1917, in the Royal Gallery at the House of Lords.

Field-Marshal Viscount French, in proposing the health of the guest, said:

It is true that the eminent General whom we are entertaining at this moment justly shines amongst us as a highly successful commander in the field, and it is in the light of his great military talents that the whole British Empire to-day regards him. If this were all, it might be right that his health should be proposed by a comrade in arms, but it is not necessary for me to reiterate the well-known fact that he is also a great lawyer and a great statesman. Although I feel myself unfitted to speak on such a subject in the presence of so distinguished a gathering and on so historic an occasion, I am yet glad of the opportunity in order to recall a period of time sixteen years ago, a time to which the General himself has more than once eloquently referred since he has been in this country, when I had the honour (and I feel it to have been a great honour) of opposing him in the field.

With consummate bravery and ability he commanded the Boer forces in Cape Colony throughout the last year of the South African War. General Smuts took, as we know, a large and important part in the conduct of the first two years of the war, but I prefer to choose, as an illustration of his military genius, that part of the cam-

campaign for which he had the sole responsibility, and in which I had the best reason to feel and appreciate his power and ability as an opponent. "If you be a great general," said Sulla to Marius, "come and fight me." "If you be a great general," replied Marius to Sulla, "compel me to fight you." I say, without hesitation, that day after day, week after week, month after month, our distinguished guest, with every disadvantage in the way of numbers, arms, transport, equipment, and supply, eluded all my attempts to bring him to decisive action, and impressed me far more than any opponent I have ever met with his power as a great commander and leader of men. The British Army has, as I hope and believe, fairly earned a reputation for conducting war with that generous chivalry which can alone justify it in the eyes of civilisation, and I rejoice to look back into the past, and to realise how our enemy of that time, commanded by such men as Botha and Smuts, continually vied with us in the constant maintenance of those finer sentiments which brave enemies should ever cultivate.

I have always held the opinion that any kind of public comment, critical or otherwise, upon military operations is not only useless and foolish, but absolutely unjust until the full facts of such operations, or set of operations, are fully known and understood, when all the cards on both sides are laid upon the table. The results of the campaign in East Africa up to date are so apparent and decisive that I do not think I can be accused of not observing this principle when I describe those operations as in the highest degree successful, and as another evidence of General Smuts's great military powers. I had a most interesting conversation with him the other day, in which he graphically described to me his plan of cam-

paign, and his story, though told in the simplest and plainest of language, revealed to me unmistakably the workings of the mind of a great strategist and tactician.

I have referred to General Smuts as a great leader and a great statesman. It is to my mind an extraordinary fact that some of the greatest soldiers in the world's history have not made the profession of arms the chief study of their lives. We know that Cromwell, Lee, Grant, and other famous soldiers were not brought up to lead men in the field, and it may hardly be said even in the case of the great Napoleon himself that the military art alone engaged his constant thought. Our guest of to-night will go down to history with these other great names as living illustrations of what we mean when we talk of born leaders of men. Personally, I do not know which I am proudest of—of having crossed swords with him, or fought by his side. Both as an opponent and as a friend he has taught us all great lessons.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

I CANNOT express to you how deeply I appreciate the honour which you have done me. Ever since I came, two months ago, to this country, I have received nothing but the most perfect and charming kindness and hospitality everywhere, and this hospitality has culminated in the unique banquet at which we are present to-night. I appreciate it all the more because I know it is given at a time when the greatest struggle in the world's history is being decided, and when nobody feels inclined to indulge in festivities. From the Government of the country I have received many marks of confidence, which I have endeavoured to requite in the only way possible to me, by giving them my frank and honest views on every question. When I return home, as I hope shortly to do, I shall be able to tell the people of South Africa that I have been received here by you, not as a guest or as a welcome stranger, but simply as one of yourselves, though speaking with a different accent and laying a different emphasis on many things, as no doubt becomes a barbarian from the outer marches of the Empire.

I am profoundly thankful to you, Lord French, for the words which have fallen from you. The words of eulogy you have expressed in regard to myself are largely, I think, undeserved; but, at any rate, I accept them as coming from an old opponent and comrade in arms. I know they are meant in the best spirit, and I

accept them in that spirit even where I feel I do not deserve them. Your words to-night and the great compliment you have paid me by presiding at this gathering recall to my mind many an incident of the stirring times to which you have referred when we were opposing commanders in the last year of the Boer War.

On one occasion, I remember, I was surrounded in a very nasty block of mountains by Lord French. I was face to face practically with disaster. Nothing was left me but the most diligent scouting to find a way out. I did some of the scouting myself, with a small party. I ventured into a place which looked promising, and which bore the appropriate name of "Murderer's Gap." I am sorry to say I was the only man who came out alive from that gap. In an account which I saw subsequently of this incident I saw the remark made that "one Boer escaped, but he probably had so many bullets in him that he would be no further danger."

Well, Lord French, I have survived to be your guest this evening. I was in a very tight corner there. I did get out, and two days afterwards I did break through—blessed word in these times. At night I came out of those mountains to the railway. It was a very dark night, and my small force was just on the point of crossing the railway when we heard that a train was coming. I allowed the train to pass, and we stood alongside and looked on. You can imagine what my feelings were when I heard some time afterwards that the only freight on that train was Lord French, who was moving from one part of his front to the other to find out how I had broken through. If I had not missed that chance Lord French would have been on that occasion my guest. No doubt a very welcome, though a somewhat embarrassing

guest! Now to-night I am his guest, I hope not embarrassing, though very much embarrassed.

Those were very difficult and strenuous days—days in which one learnt many valuable lessons, good for all one's life. One of the lessons I learned was that, under the stress of great difficulties such as we were then passing through, the only things which survived were the simple human feelings, feelings of loyalty to your fellows and feelings of comradeship and patriotism which carried you through danger and privation. We soldiers know the extreme value of these simple feelings. We know how far they can go, and that in the end they can bear the whole weight of civilisation. When you think that, in addition to this, you have the circumstance which you have referred to, then you can see how out of that calamity has been produced the state of affairs in South Africa to-day. You can see how these simple human feelings of loyalty to your comrades and respect for your opponents on both sides have led to a new basis on which to build the larger South Africa we have to-day.

I am sure that in the present great struggle which is being waged in the world you will see the same causes leading to a like result. Here you have from all parts of the British Empire young men gathered together on the battlefields of Europe and the other fields of war. While your statesmen may be planning great schemes of union for the future of the Empire, my feeling is that the work is already largely done. The spirit of comradeship which has been born in this war and on the battlefields of Europe among men from all parts of the Empire will be far more powerful than any instrument of government we can erect in the future. I feel sure that in after years, when we or our successors come to

sum up what has happened, there will be a good credit balance due to this feeling which has been built up and which will be the best support for the Empire in the future.

Once more, as many ages ago it happened under the Roman Emperors, the German volcano is in eruption and the whole world is shaken. No doubt in this great convulsion you are faced in this country with the most enormous problems which any Government or people has ever been called upon to solve, problems of world-wide strategy, of man-power, of communications, of food supply, problems of every imaginable kind and of such magnitude that it is almost beyond the wit of man to deal with them. It is inevitable where you have so many difficulties to face that one should forget to keep before oneself the situation as a whole; and yet this is very necessary. It is most essential that even in this struggle, even when Europe is looming so much before our eyes, we should keep before us and see steadily the problem of the whole situation. I would ask you not to forget in these times the British Commonwealth of nations. Europe will not continue to loom so much in view as it does at present.

I want to say a few words to-night on this subject, because I think there is a tendency to forget some of the aspects of the question with which we are now confronted. This is one of the reasons why I am glad that an Imperial Conference has been called at this time. It is apparently a very inopportune moment, but the calling together of the Conference has helped to turn attention once more to that aspect of the whole situation which is so important to us. It is not only Europe we have to consider, but the future of the great Common-

wealth to which we all belong. This Commonwealth is peculiarly constituted. It is scattered over the whole world. It is not a compact territory, and it is dependent for its very existence on world-wide communications—communications which must be maintained or this Empire goes to pieces.

In the years of peace behind us we see what has happened. Everywhere on your communications Germany has settled down; everywhere on your communications you will find a German colony or a German settlement, small or large; and the day might come when you would be in jeopardy through your lines of communication being cut. One of the by-products of the war has been that the whole world outside of Europe has been cleared of the enemy. Germany has been swept from all the seas and all the continents except Central Europe. While Germany has been gaining ground in Central Europe, from all the rest of the world she has been swept clear. You are now in this position: that once more you can consider the problem of your future as a whole. When peace comes to be made you have all these cards in your hand, and you can go carefully into the question of what is necessary for your future security and the future safety of the Empire, and can say what you are going to keep and what you are going to give away. I hope that when the time comes—I am speaking for myself and expressing nobody's opinion but my own—when the time comes for peace to be made we shall bear in mind not only Central Europe, but the whole British Empire. As far as we are concerned, we do not wish this war to have been fought in vain. We have not fought for material gain or for territory, but we have fought for security in the future. If we attach

any value to this group of nations which composes the British Empire, then in settling the terms of peace we shall have to look to its future security and safety. I hope that no arrangement will be made which will jeopardise the valuable results which have been attained. That is the geographical situation.

There remains the difficult question of the constitutional adjustment and relations of the British Empire. At a luncheon which was given some time back by the Empire Parliamentary Association to the delegates to the Imperial Conference, I said rather cryptically that I did not think this was a matter in which we could follow precedent, and I hope you will bear with me to-night if I say a few words on that theme. I think that we are inclined to make mistakes in thinking about this group of nations to which we belong, because too often we think about it as one State. We are not a State. The British Empire is much more than a State. I think the very expression "Empire" is misleading, because it makes people think that we are one community, to which the word "Empire" can appropriately be applied. Germany is an Empire. Rome was an Empire. India is an Empire. But we are a system of nations. We are not a State, but a community of States and nations. We are far greater than any Empire which has ever existed, and by using this ancient expression we really disguise the main fact that our whole position is different, and that we are not one State or nation or empire, but a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations, of many States, and all sorts of communities, under one flag.

We are a system of States, and not a stationary system, but a dynamic evolving system, always going forward to new destinies. Take the position of that system

to-day. Here you have the United Kingdom with a number of Crown Colonies. Besides that you have a large Protectorate like Egypt, an Empire by itself. Then you have a great Dependency like India, also an Empire by itself, where civilisation has existed from time immemorial, where we are trying to see how East and West can work together. These are enormous problems; but beyond them we come to the so-called Dominions, independent in their government, which have been evolved on the principles of your free constitutional system into almost independent States, which all belong to this community of nations, and which I prefer to call "the British Commonwealth of Nations."

You can see that no political ideas which have been evolved in the past will apply to this world which is comprised in the British Empire; and any name we have yet found for this group is insufficient. The man who will find a proper name for this system will, I think, do real service to the Empire.

The question is: How are you going to provide for the future government of this Commonwealth? An entirely new problem is presented. If you want to see how great it is, you must indulge in comparison. Look at the United States. There you find what is essentially one nation, not perhaps in the fullest sense, but what is more and more growing into one nation; one big State consisting, no doubt, of separate parts, but all linked up into one big continuous area. The United States had to solve the problem which this presented, and they discovered the federal solution—a solution which provides subordinate treatment for the subordinate parts, but one national Federal Government and Parliament for the whole. Compare with that state the enormous system

which is comprised in the British Empire. You can see at once that a solution which has been found practicable in the case of the United States will never work in the case of a system such as we are comprising a world by itself.

What I feel in regard to all the empires of the past, and even in regard to the United States, is that the effort has always been towards forming one nation. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. You do not want to standardise the nations of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality. These communities, the offspring of the Mother Country, or territories like my own, which have been annexed after the vicissitudes of war, must not be moulded on any one pattern. You want them to develop freely on the principles of self-government, and therefore your whole idea is different from anything that has ever existed before. That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of nations does not stand for standardisation or denationalisation, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it.

Even the nations which have fought against it, like my own, must feel that their cultural interests, their language, their religion, are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your own household and your own blood. It is only in proportion as this is realised that you will fulfil the true mission which is yours. Therefore it seems to me that there is only one solution, and that is a solution supplied by our past tra-

ditions—the traditions of freedom, self-government, and of the fullest development for all constituent parts of the Empire.

The question arises: How are you going to keep this Commonwealth of nations together? If there is to be this full development towards a more varied and richer life among our nations, how are you going to keep them together? It seems to me that there are two potent factors that you must rely upon for the future. The first is your hereditary kingship, the other is our Conference system. I have seen some speculations recently in the newspapers about the position of the kingship in this country—speculations by people who, I am sure, have not thought of the wider issues that are at stake. You cannot make a republic of the British Commonwealth of nations.

If you had to elect a President, he would have to be a President not only here in these islands, but all over the British Empire—in India and in the Dominions—the President who would be really representative of all these peoples; and here you would be facing an absolutely insoluble problem. The theory of the Constitution is that the King is not your King, but the King of all of us, ruling over every part of the whole Commonwealth of nations; and if his place should be taken by anybody else, that somebody will have to be elected under a process which it will pass the wit of man to devise. Let us be thankful for mercies. We have a kingship here which is really not very different from a hereditary republic. I am sure that more and more in the future the trend will be in the direction of a more democratic kingship, and I shall not be surprised to see the time come when our Royal princes, instead of getting their consorts from

among the princelings of Central Europe, will go for them to the Dominions and other portions of the British Empire.

In regard to the present system of Imperial Conferences, it will be necessary to devise better machinery for common consultation than we have at present. So far, we have relied on Imperial Conferences which meet once in every four years or thereabouts. However useful has been the work done at these Conferences, they have not, in my opinion, been a complete success. It will be necessary to devise better means of achieving our ends. A precedent has now been laid down of calling together the Dominion Prime Ministers and representatives from the Empire of India to the Imperial Cabinet. You have seen a statement made by Lord Curzon that it is the intention of the Government to perpetuate this system in the future. Although we shall have to wait for a complete explanation of the scheme from the Government, yet it is clear that in an institution like that we have a better instrument of common consultation than we have in the old Imperial Conference which meets only every four years and which discusses a number of subjects not really of first-rate importance.

What is necessary is that there shall be called together the most important rulers of the Empire, say once a year, to discuss matters which concern all parts of the Empire in common, in order that causes of friction and misunderstanding may be prevented or removed. We also need a meeting like that in order to lay down a common policy in common matters concerning the Empire as a whole, and to determine the true orientation of our common Imperial policy. There is, for instance, foreign policy on which the fate of the Empire might

from time to time depend. Some such method of procedure must lead to very important results and very great changes. You cannot settle a common foreign policy for the whole of the British Empire without changing that policy very much from what it has been in the past, because the policy will have to be, for one thing, far simpler. In the other parts of the Empire we do not understand diplomatic finesse. If our foreign policy is going to rest not only on the basis of our Cabinet here, but, finally, on the whole of the British Empire, it will have to be a simpler policy, a far more intelligible policy, and a policy which will in the end lead to less friction and greater safety. No one will dispute the primacy of the Imperial Government in this respect. We shall always look upon the British Government as the senior partner in the concern, as the managing director responsible for our foreign affairs and responsible for carrying on those affairs in the intervals between the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet. But the Imperial foreign policy must always be subject to the principles laid down from time to time at the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet. Such a policy will in the long run be saner and safer for the Empire as a whole. I also think it will lead to greater publicity.

After the great catastrophe which has overtaken Europe, nations in future will want to know more about their foreign policy. I am sure that the after effects of a change like this, although it looks a simple one, are going to be very important and far-reaching not only for our Commonwealth of nations but for the whole world.

Far too much stress has been laid in the past on instruments of government. People are inclined to forget that the world is growing more democratic, and that

public opinion and the forces finding expression in public opinion are going to be far more powerful than they have been in the past. Where you build up a common patriotism and a common ideal, the instrument of government will not be a thing that matters so much as the spirit which actuates the whole.

When I look round this room to-night and see all who are present, I am filled with gratitude to you who have assembled to do me honour; to time, the great judge, the merciful judge, the healer of wounds; and to that "Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." And then I think of the difficulties that still lie ahead of us, and that are going to test all the nations fighting for liberty far more than they have ever been tested before. And I hope and pray that they all may have clearness of vision and purpose, and especially that strength of soul in the coming days which will be even more necessary than strength of arm. I believe, I verily believe, that we are within reach of priceless and immeasurable good, not only for this United Kingdom and group of nations to which we belong, but also for the whole world. It will depend largely on us whether the great prize is won in this war, or whether the world will once more be plunged into disaster and long years of weary waiting for the dawn. The prize is within our grasp if we have the strength of soul to see the thing through until victory crowns the efforts of our brave men in the field.

THE WAR AND THE EMPIRE

A Speech delivered by General Smuts in reply to the address by the Lord Provost on the occasion of the presentation of the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh on April 11th, 1917.

THE WAR AND THE EMPIRE

GENERAL SMUTS said the Lord Provost was right in saying that he had constantly all through the years behind them in South Africa striven for a spirit of co-operation, of sympathy, and of union between all races in that country to which he had the honour to belong. Union was inevitable in South Africa, but it had been his desire and his striving for many years that it should be such a union as that between England and Scotland, and not the sort of union they had had between England and Ireland. They had had in South Africa all the makings of an insoluble political problem; but by God's providence, and by the forbearance of both races, and their wisdom, they had in the end achieved a union which was like that between England and Scotland. Sir Robert Borden had reminded them that fifteen years ago he was fighting against the British Empire. There had been no change in him. The cause he fought for fifteen years ago was the cause for which he was fighting to-day. They in this country were a large-hearted people; and he was sure they would forgive him if he expressed his view that fifteen years ago, eighteen years ago, they were wrong. For a brief moment in their long national history they went off the track, and they came to grips with a very small people; and in that struggle he did his best in order to conserve the self-existence and the liberty of his people. He was sometimes proud

to think that, according to the old Apostolic injunction, the Boers had heaped coals of fire upon their heads, and had been the instrument of bringing them back to the right track, to their old traditions of liberty, to the old ideal of standing by small peoples, and to that consciousness of right which had guided them in the past and would guide them in the future. As soon as the British Government came to wiser counsels, they handed back to South Africa, so far as it was possible, the liberty which they in South Africa thought would be jeopardised; they made them a free country; and in that way they laid the foundation of a large and great State in South Africa. As the result of that policy adopted after the Boer War, they saw to-day a nation that fought against the British Empire with a vigour and a persistence seldom seen in the history of the world, had been and still was fighting with all its strength for the common cause. That had been brought about, and could only have been brought about, by the spirit of liberty, which had been the guiding principle of British history. Sir Robert Borden had told them that in the discussions they had had among themselves privately about the future of the British Empire there was no great difference of opinion between them, and the reason was simple. They saw clearly that it was only on a basis of freedom and the completest autonomy that the British Empire would continue to exist and would become stronger in the future. The British Empire was not a State; it was half a world. It comprised old nations as well as young nations, and all the vast congeries of States could only be kept together in the future on the basis of liberty. He was sure that when the final settlement came to be made of the constitutional arrangements of the British

Empire that would be found to be the only solution. The spirit of comradeship, which was the only basis of union, was there, and on that basis he was sure they would find the solution of our constitutional relations in the future, and not in mere rigid political machinery.

In these times we were living under a great shadow. On the previous afternoon he was in France, where he had been visiting our front. He had looked at the Vimy Ridge, and he had seen the opening phases of what might become one of the great battles in history. He had seen what our men had to come through and what they had to suffer for the great cause we all had at heart. He wished they could see the front over which our men had been advancing in snow, sleet, and rain these last few days—one vast expanse of mud covered with shell pits so close together that only the lips of the craters were left. The pits were often so deep that if anybody fell into them he got drowned. That was the country in which hundreds of thousands of our brave comrades had been living for months, and over which they were advancing to victory to-day. He found them one and all, from the highest officer to the lowest private, imbued with the same common spirit—no music-hall spirit, no spirit of bravado, but of determination to see the thing through. The organisation left nothing to be desired. German organisation had been overtaken. He listened to a bombardment of heavy guns which was probably the greatest that had ever been heard in the history of the world. Tens of thousands of tons of projectiles were being hurled against the enemy, and in the evening when he came to look at the figures he found that, notwithstanding the bombardment, the amount of our shells at the front had actually increased that day. In other

respects he was convinced that the machine worked smoothly and well, and that being so, combined with the spirit of the men, he thought they need not despair.

Sir Robert Borden had referred to the criticism of the air service. Here was a fact that was to his mind absolutely convincing. During the days he was at the front he never saw an enemy machine. We were making preparations for a great advance; we were accumulating men and material beyond description, and there was no enemy machine to see what we were doing. Why not? Because our airmen were fighting them ten, fifteen, and twenty miles behind their lines. No doubt our casualties had been great; but they did not mind casualties when they were making a great victorious offensive. We had completely established our mastery in the air. He was sorry when he saw sometimes carping criticism. No doubt in a democratic country, and with a free Press, they would have a great deal of public criticism; but in the present case it worked with some disadvantage. Our airmen were not big, strong fellows like himself; they were schoolboys, youngsters who have been taken from their seats in school and put on our aeroplanes. When these brave souls saw that their branch of the Service was the continual subject of attack, it took the heart out of them. If there was any part of our Service they could be proud of it was the part played by those youngsters who dominated the enemy in the air.

This was not a war of armies, it was a war of nations, and the whole of this nation must be dominated by the same spirit as the Army. He wanted the spirit of the people in the British Empire to be worthy of the Army, and he was sure they could do far more as a

people than they had been doing hitherto. This was a struggle which went to the foundation of things, a struggle such as came to the world only once in a thousand years. Were they going to develop in future as free nations, working out their own destiny all over the world according to the light of their conscience and reason, or were they going to be tyrannised by militarism and all the evils that followed in the train of militarism? If Germany won, then she was justified, and her system was justified, and future civilisation would have to be on military and autocratic lines. Did they want that? They wanted freedom, and they wanted the spirit of Christian ethical civilisation to prevail. The words of President Wilson that "this world must be made safe for democracy" put the whole issue in a few words. The ruling classes in Germany must be broken before there could be peace and union in the world again. The only guarantee they could have for the future was victory now.

YOUTH AND HONOUR

Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Senate House on May 16th, 1917, on the occasion of the conferring of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Cambridge.

The Degree was also conferred on His Excellency Dr. Walter Hines Page, United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James'.

[The visit of the United States Ambassador (Dr. Walter Hines Page) and the South African Envoy to the Council of the Empire (Lieut.-General J. C. Smuts, K.C.) to Cambridge on Wednesday, to receive the honorary degrees conferred upon them by the University, was marked by an event believed to be without precedent. Both the recipients, after the degrees had been conferred upon them and the Congregation had been formally dissolved, were accorded the privilege of making speeches to the crowded assembly.—CAMBRIDGE DAILY NEWS, May 17th.]

YOUTH AND HONOUR

LIEUT.-GENERAL SMUTS, in replying to the address of the Public Orator, said that was one of the proudest days of his life. Many years ago, when he was an undergraduate of this University, he never dreamt that day would come when an honorary degree would be conferred upon him there. But he had seen so many wonderful things come to pass in his short lifetime that he was surprised at nothing any more. But he did appreciate that honour—more, perhaps, than any other honour that had come to him. The honour which was that day conferred upon him by his old Alma Mater reminded him of the happy years—some of the happiest years of his life—that he had spent here in this University. In the intervening years they had drifted far apart. He had gone his ways, and they had not always been their ways. But in the course of time those divergent paths had met once more, and there he was, once more in the bosom of the old family, received not as a guest, but as one of themselves. He was especially proud to be there that day because of the very great change he saw had come over his old University. When he came on his present visit to England he saw Cambridge transformed. He saw nothing but uniforms here, and it was the most convincing proof possible that even this most conservative of places was moving with the times; was not only moving with the times, but was setting

the rest of this United Kingdom one of the finest examples possible.

In his day, young men competed in the University for honours. That day he saw the young men of the University competing for a higher honour—a super-honour—an honour not only of achievement, but of sacrifice. And in distant parts of the world, when he rode over large parts of Africa, he from time to time scanned the new honours lists of this University, and he had seen the very, very large numbers of young men who had given their lives, their health, their all, for the cause that was the highest and best of all. That made him prouder than he had ever been before of the University to which he belonged.

He saw many of them there that day—many young officers preparing and training for that great struggle, and he, as an old hand at that game, could only wish them sincerely the best of possible luck. He wanted them to bear in mind that to them was given a chance which seldom comes to human beings. To them had come the chance, as it had come to our generation, of fighting to the uttermost for the greatest of all human causes—the cause which, as the Public Orator had said in his speech, he (the speaker) had fought for constantly all his life—the cause of liberty. We would not see, so far as it lay in our power, liberty perish from the face of the earth. We would not see the human soul harnessed to any war machine or any State machine, however glorious or powerful it might be. It was for that reason that we had taken up arms—for that reason that the United States of America had forsaken their most sacred political tradition which they had followed now for more than one hundred years, and had come into the

struggle, because they found that there was something greater and more valuable than tradition, that there was a cause which surpassed all tradition. They had joined in the struggle for human liberty.

"It has come to you now, in your day," he continued, "as it had come to many of us in this generation, to lay our all upon this altar, and I hope that you may have luck—not only the luck of achievement, of doing your very best for the greatest of all causes, but that you may see victory crown your efforts, and that in the days to come we shall all rejoice, or those that come after us will rejoice, that we were not found wanting in the greatest of all tests and did not fail in the greatest examination of all history." It was very unusual, so far as his experience went, that any speech should be made in that sacred hall, and he apologised for having spoken so long. What he had said had been meant from the heart to those boys who were going to the front, and who were accompanied by our dearest and best wishes for their future welfare in the work in which they would be engaged.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Central Hall, Westminster, at a meeting held under the auspices of the League of Nations Society on May 14th, 1917.

The meeting was presided over by Viscount Bryce, and the following Resolution was moved by General Smuts:—

"That it is expedient in the interests of mankind that some machinery should be set up after the present war for the purpose of maintaining international rights and general peace, and this meeting welcomes the suggestions put forward for this purpose by the President of the United States and other influential statesmen in America and commends to the sympathetic consideration of the British peoples the idea of forming a union of free nations for the preservation of permanent peace."

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Committee of this Society has done me the honour to ask me this afternoon to move the resolution. I do so with very great embarrassment, because I feel that the subject with which we are dealing this afternoon is probably the most important, but also the most difficult, that has ever arisen upon the horizon of human thought. I believe it is Cicero who said that the State was the divinest of institutions. If the State is a divine institution, how much more divine is that institution which we are wishful to create, which will preserve peace, order, and good government not among the citizens of a State only, but among the nations of the world. But the subject is surrounded by the most perplexing difficulties, and certainly I this afternoon have nothing dogmatic to say. At the same time one feels that progress has been made, and that the subject is no longer merely academic, no longer merely Utopian. If the war has done nothing more, it has at any rate done this—it has stamped into the hearts of millions of men and women an intense desire for a better order of things. And you see the result in a meeting like this this afternoon, where you have not only gathered the dreamers and the idealists, the visionaries, who are the salt of the earth, but also practical men, and even men of blood like myself. Well—it is high time that something were done.

The losses and sufferings of this war truly baffle description; one cannot contemplate without the profoundest emotion this horror that has come over Christendom, this spirit of self-destruction which has overtaken our so-called civilisation. After all the fair promises, all the fair hopes, all the fine enthusiasm of the nineteenth century, this is what we have come to. It is computed that nearly 8,000,000 people have already been killed in this war—not the old and decrepit, not the unfit, but the best—the very best, those who should have been the natural creators of the new world, they lie buried on the battlefields of civilisation, while larger numbers have been maimed and rendered unfit for the rest of their lives. It is probable that the number of killed and wounded in this war is not far short of that of the total white population of the British Empire. Is that not a matter to stir humanity to its depths? I think the time has come for very, very serious consideration of this matter. You see the most criminal disregard of all laws, human and divine. You see civilisation itself almost crumbling to pieces, and I am sure if some means were not provided by which such calamities could be prevented in future, and the repetition of wars like this was still possible in the future, then the whole fabric of our civilisation will be in danger, people will become filled with a universal despair, and you will find the nations of the world saying, as the poet said in his despair, "From the world's bitter wind seek shelter in the shadow of the grave." For what would be the use of life, or what would be the use of civilisation, if those are the fruits of all our efforts and all our endeavours?

The scale of the disaster is so vast that the whole matter seems to be uncontrollable. Our nineteenth century

science taught us how to mobilise the forces of nature, but it did not strengthen our social conscience correspondingly, and the result is that all these forces have been collected into some horrible engine of destruction which now moves like the cursed thing it is, like some blind destiny which is treading over our civilisation. If we had the moral ideas of the ancient Greeks we should believe this to be black destiny—some supernatural power which was driving mankind on to despair. But we know better. We know that this war is not the work of some superhuman agency; this war is man-made. It is human forces that lie at the basis of it, human intelligence, human stupidity, human greed and ambition; they are all at the basis of this calamity that has overtaken us, and therefore this is no occasion for us to fold hands and to bow our heads before the storm. This is a time for action; this tragedy that has come over us calls for action. What the human intelligence has done the human intelligence can undo again. And I feel sure that if one-hundredth part of the consideration and the thought that have been given to the war is given to schemes of peace, then you will never see any war again.

But I agree with Lord Bryce, you must begin with the hearts of men, and I am not sure that this war has not brought this matter to that level—to the hearts of men and women—I am not sure that a passion has not been born for peace after this war which in the end will prove stronger than all the passion for war which has so far overwhelmed us, and that is the only thing that can save us in the long run. That is what I am looking forward to, that this war has not been a merely destructive agency, but that it will prove a creative power—that it will call forth in the human heart those

feelings which will counterbalance the fierce passions which have in the past driven us on this evil road.

Now at first blush it does seem as if the end of this war would be about the most hopeless time imaginable to talk of schemes of lasting peace. For at the end of this war you will find the world divided into two hostile camps, with a chasm of hatred between them such as probably has never been seen in the world before. You will find an atmosphere of hatred and ill-will and of international estrangement such as has never been seen before in the history of the world. And when you come to think of creating machinery for lasting peace you will have to bear in mind that the time, in a certain sense, will be the most unpropitious possible for the effort you are trying to make.

On the other hand, I have also this feeling, and I am sure it is the right feeling, that deeper than that has been the good work that the war has done—the creation of a better feeling in the hearts of men—the passion which has been burnt into millions of minds and hearts that this state of affairs should never be tolerated again. This will not only be the feeling of the millions of men who will return from the front, the men who will return from the mire of the trenches and the nightmare of high explosives, but it will be the feeling of millions who remained behind to suffer, the mothers and the sisters who remained behind to suffer, and whose daily task it has been to scan the casualty lists in the newspapers. I am sure this war has burnt into the souls of all this lesson, which perhaps we never should have learned otherwise, the lesson that so far as it is possible in human power this thing should never be tolerated again. Now I think it is very important that there should be this

natural condition created for a better order of things—the strong feeling, that is to say, that a state of affairs such as we have drifted to in our present civilisation should never be allowed again. And when Europe rises from her sick bed in a long period of convalescence, as no doubt she will have to do, the germs of many good ideas will be able to develop in her, and let it be our effort to see that among those germs none will develop more strongly and more vigorously than this idea of peace which we are here this afternoon to foster.

But I feel sure that this war has done something more than merely create this desire, this will to peace—this war has carried us to fundamentals, and that is a very important matter. In recent years we have had quite enough talk of peace and all the paraphernalia of peace. We have had Hague Conferences; we have had peace treaties in large numbers. Our experience has been that whilst we were talking of peace, whilst we were at those conferences, whilst we were plastering the world with peace treaties, all the time the real danger was growing; all the time the war spirit was rising; all the time there was this arming in the dark, and this scheming which has at last broken out in this great conflict over the world. I think that the war has shown us that there is the very greatest danger in merely believing in paper and in institutions, and what we want to see brought about is not merely agreements between the nations, but we must have this change in the hearts of men; we must have this foundation in the hearts of men which will be a good basis for any agreements to rest on, otherwise these agreements and these institutions will be so many scraps of paper again. I think this war has carried us deep down to the bedrock of honesty and sincerity on

which alone any lasting institutions for mankind can be built up. I have laboured this point because I think it is very important. I think there is always a temptation for reformers to believe in paper and machinery. We fight so hard to achieve anything that when we have it in black and white we are apt to think we have attained our end. When we have a law on the statute book we think we have carried our reform, and then we fold our hands and we allow the thing to go by itself. And thereafter it often goes wrong.

This war has taught us that we are dealing not merely with institutions, or with treaties, or with laws, but that we have to deal with something far more serious. If there is to be peace in future in the world, then there must be created as a basis for it all a strong, healthy, sound public opinion; a public opinion which will be the best guarantee of peace, which will see that Governments are kept in order and that diplomats are kept in order. And it is only in proportion as that result is achieved that we can have any reasonable confidence that there will be peace in the world in the future. I think that is the first and the most important condition of future peace.

Now I mention what occurs to me as the second condition, also very important, and that is that at the end of this war we must conclude a good peace, because I do not see how you are going to have a perpetual peace, or the chance of perpetual peace, in future if this war is going to be ended like so many other wars as a mere patchwork compromise between various conflicting interests. The war has carried us to the depths, let us build from the depths. It is only when we have, as the result of this war and of the peace treaty that will

follow it, the establishment of the principle that nations will decide their own fate, that there will be the free consent of nations about their own destiny and their own disposal—it is only then that it will be possible to talk about the maintenance of peace in the future. The subject is very difficult, and I am not going to discuss peace terms this afternoon. This is not the place, nor am I the person, to do so. But I can well understand that one of the most important conditions of future peace will be a peace treaty which will be a satisfactory conclusion of this war, a conclusion which will establish that nations will no longer as in former years be disposed of by alien statesmen and Governments; that they will not be parcelled and chopped up so as to be divided among the big Powers of the world; that they shall have the chance to decide their own fate. On that basis alone—on that basis of the national—will you be able to build the system of the supernational, the international, which we are aiming at. I am sure it is only on this basis of the free consent of nations, on this good sound national basis, that the proper international, supernational order which we are aiming at can possibly be built up in the future.

The third condition of lasting peace has been stated by Lord Bryce, and that is that in some form or other we must bring about a league or a union of nations with some common organ of consultation on all vital issues. Of course the matter is extremely difficult, and I am not, as I have said, in a position to dogmatise, and in my own mind I am not clear as to the best course to pursue. I can quite well see that we may fail in our object if we start with too elaborate or too ambitious a scheme. The subject is enormously difficult, and you

can by trying to achieve too much fail in achieving anything at all, and I must honestly confess that all the schemes that I have heard of so far have failed to carry conviction to my mind that they are practical and that they will achieve the objects we have in view. I would favour something more elastic, something more flexible, something which will be capable of adapting itself to the very complex circumstances which arise from time to time in our complex European relations, and it is perhaps possible in that way to achieve more real good. Now I would throw out a suggestion here that the time has come, especially now that America is also in this war, when more ample consideration should be given to the details of the subject. I know a great literature has already gathered round this subject of the common institutions, the common organs for a League of Nations. But I am sure the matter is more difficult than has been shown in any book that I have read on the subject, and I would throw out the suggestion that the time has come when an Anglo-American Committee should be appointed to go thoroughly into it. As Lord Bryce has pointed out, a great deal of consideration has been given to the subject in America. America has been so far from the danger that she has built up an ideal in the clouds, whereas here in Europe we labour in the trough of the sea. America has got there too now, and if we could now bring together not only the idealists, but also practical men, men of experience, men who know the difficult ways of the world and the bad ways of the world—if we could bring them together in a committee to thrash out a detailed scheme, it would be possible to have something more practical than anything we have

yet seen on this subject, which might be invaluable when the time for peace negotiations arrives.

I throw out this suggestion of an Anglo-American Committee as one that is worthy of consideration.

There remains another condition which Lord Bryce has referred to, and which is of the essence of the scheme before us—the condition, namely, that in any arrangement for future peace there should be at the back of it some sanction, some force—otherwise it remains merely talk, otherwise it remains simply a vision. A nation which has got off the rails, or intends to get off the rails, must know that in the last resort the League of Nations against her are going to use force, and are going to force her on the right rails if she is not going willingly to come back. It is not merely sufficient for a conference to meet from time to time like an Areopagus to discuss questions; but there must be a union which has force behind it and which is bound to use that force when the occasion arises. What force has to be used, and in what form or measure it is to be used, that, of course, is a very difficult question. You know the plan this Society and also the American Society favours is of a more limited character, and would apply force not to prevent war, but to ensure consultation; to ensure inquiry and to afford a certain time for consideration and inquiry and for a decision to be arrived at. That is the only part which is really sanctioned in the present scheme. It is another question what sort of sanction ought to be applied. Ought nations to go to war at once if it is necessary to keep the peace, or should they go in for a more limited application of force, like a financial boycott or a blockade of communications, or a pacific blockade or something of the kind? These are all questions of

the greatest difficulty which might be threshed out carefully in an international committee such as I have suggested.

There remains another question not touched upon in our programme, which I also consider of the most vital importance, and that is the question of disarmament. It is a very difficult question—more difficult than any other aspect of the subject, but from many points of view the most important. It is no use trying to prevent war when nations are armed to the teeth. If Governments are allowed with impunity to prepare for war over a long process of years, to consolidate all their resources on a military basis with a view to making an attack such as we have seen in the present war, then inevitably you reach a point when not even a League of Nations is sufficiently strong to withstand the deluge. And however difficult—and it is a most difficult subject when it is thoroughly gone into—it seems to me that this matter also will have to be dealt with in some form or another and in some degree or another—namely, the devising of plans which will lead to the abolition or diminution of armaments and to less recourse being had by States to warlike preparations in future.

There is one point more which I consider essential in any scheme which can be considered workable, and that is, you want not only a court of law, you want not only a police force, but you want a periodic conference or other institution which will be able to change the situation in civilisation from time to time. The great weakness of the Holy Alliance that followed the Napoleonic wars was just this, that it was simply a court to maintain the *status quo*—to ensure that no change took place

and that things were maintained in that blissful state in which they were left by the Battle of Waterloo.

You know that below that conservative crust of the Holy Alliance there were seething all the great forces which broke forth in the nineteenth century; and believe me that the position will be far worse after this war than after Waterloo. I am sure that we have entered into an era of great change and unsettlement and of movement in all directions. The foundation stones of society have been loosened, so to say, and you may be sure that for generations to come there will be a great deal of unsettlement and change, if not always of progress, then of movement of some kind of another, and you want an institution which will not be merely of a conservative character with the object of maintaining and preserving peace, because there are sometimes interests that are more important than peace. You will get to a stage after this war when new creations will be more valuable than the preservation of the *status quo*. And such creations will have to be faced in the twentieth century even more probably than in previous centuries. And therefore you do not want a body that will merely pass judgment and see that it is carried out, but one which will meet from time to time and revise the situation and liberate those forces of progress which must have an outlet unless there is to be another convulsion.

One more consideration—and it is this. I do not refer to this as a condition of any future peace treaty, but I think it is most important and essential that the fundamental provisions to safeguard peace in future should be included in the peace treaty itself which is made after this war. This war has not been fought, at any rate as far as we are concerned, for the purpose

of gain or material interests. Millions of men have given their lives in this war, millions more are prepared to give their lives in this war in order to achieve a good peace and to ensure it for the future, and I think it would be the proper course that the peace treaty which is concluded after this war shall contain as an integral part of it the fundamental provisions, not in detail, but in principle, which will safeguard the future peace of the world. If that is done, then this war will not have been fought in vain. If that is done, I am sure that out of the horrors and sorrows of this, probably the greatest tragedy of the world, will have been born a great hope for the future of the world, and in that way this peace treaty which will conclude this war will become a real Magna Charta for the whole of humanity hereafter. I hope the statesmen of Europe at the conclusion of peace will regard the matter from that high standpoint.

FREEDOM

*A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Guildhall
on the occasion of the presentation to him of the Freedom
of the City of London, May 1st, 1917.*

FREEDOM

I AM very sensible of the great honour done me to-day. You have to-day enrolled my name among many of the greatest and most illustrious names in the history of your City and your people.

I will not suppose that any merits of mine have justified this distinction, although I confess I am personally very proud and grateful for the action you have taken; and the people of South Africa, and especially the small people to whom I am proud to belong, will also feel very greatly pleased and honoured. Ten years ago you bestowed the great gift of your Freedom on my leader, General Botha, who has ever since, through sunshine and through storm, led the people of South Africa with a firm, wise, and kindly hand; under whose guidance the enmities and antagonisms of the past are receding, and a new nation is slowly but surely being built up in that great land. No one will be more pleased to-day at the honour you have done me than my old friend and comrade in arms, whose heavy task in far South Africa has prevented him from attending the Imperial War Cabinet on this occasion. I know your best wishes accompany him in his great work of statesmanship.

There is another reason why I especially value this honour you have conferred on me to-day. It is because of the traditions of your great City, and of the great and special part it has played in past centuries in

the political history of this country. In the great historic struggles of this country in the past the City of London always was the bulwark of liberty; the place of refuge to which oppressed liberty could flee—and never fled in vain. Throughout the seventeenth century, while the foundations of political liberty and Parliamentary Government were being laid in this country, the City of London stood forth as the most conspicuous champion against the Stuarts. The memories of Hampden and Pym, of Cromwell and Dutch William, will always remain inseparably associated with the traditions of your great City. Under your protection the foundations of free institutions were well and truly laid, and many generations have since continued the structure. You chose the prize of greatest value, and many others have been added to you since.

Centuries of prosperity followed, in which you and the nation grew and flourished and became rich beyond the dreams of avarice. And people whispered that you had become corrupted with wealth, and soft; that the day of trial would find your leaders nerveless and yourselves wanting and unprepared. What was your answer? Your enemies forgot on what milk you had been nurtured. Free men have the heart to do and dare anything. Without conscription or compulsion you raised millions of men; you transformed your industries from a peace to a war basis, and in the end you have become the financial, military, and moral mainstay of the Alliance. Such are the fruits of liberty in these islands. Freedom, like wisdom, is once more justified of her children.

And beyond these islands? Of the sixty million white inhabitants of the British Empire one-quarter live be-

yond the seas. Scattered far away over the whole globe, apparently having no interest in the struggles and feuds of old Europe. Germany counted on their apathy, perhaps on their disruption.

Yet see what they have done, and done quite voluntarily. And why have they made their magnificent effort? Not to help the Mother Country, but to help the cause which is as much theirs as hers, the cause of Freedom, the desire of all nations to work out their own salvation, without coercion, without the terror inspired by an ever-growing, ever more insolent, threatening, and aggressive military autocracy. We shall never understand the real inwardness of the effort of the British Empire until we recognise that their fight is not for mere self-interest or mean, small issues, but for the greatest of all. It is because all realise that the greatest, most essential, and most fundamental interest of humanity is at stake, that the old cause for which millions have in all ages sacrificed their all, once again is in danger, it is for this that you witness to-day this spontaneous uprising, not only among the nations of the British Empire, but of the world.

Why has America at last also joined in the conflict? Some say it is the submarine, and some say it is Wilson; some say American honour has been hurt by Germany; and some say that America is afraid of standing alone and isolated after the war. It may be none or some or all of these things. But it is far more than all these. Slowly, painfully, the people of America have come to recognise and understand what really is at stake. They have come to realise that it is once more the old historic issue, that it is the same as their old case of George Washington *versus* George Rex, the same as the case between North and South, but now broadened so as to

cover the whole world; the oldest and greatest of all issues which has been going on since the foundation of the world; the issue of freedom *versus* slavery, of democracy *versus* autocracy, of national self-government against Imperial despotism. You will find it all set forth with matchless skill and burning eloquence in President Wilson's great historic message. Just as we had no option in August, 1914, so America has come to see that she had no option; unless freedom is once more to be endangered, not only in the old world, but also in the new; unless Russia was once more to be delivered over to the reaction; unless Germany herself had to be finally given up as lost for ever. And remember even the soul of Germany will have to be redeemed before the end! Do we not see how under the terrific strain of this struggle the bonds of the military despotism that have shackled that and other peoples are already beginning to snap as the end is approaching?

For the end is coming nearer. There are difficult weeks and months ahead of us, difficult, anxious, dangerous. The spirit of our armies at the front is magnificent in its confidence and determination. Let the spirit of the nation be great enough to match that of its armies. Let us be neither too elated by victory nor too much depressed by ill-fortune. Let us be patient, constant, and prepared for any sacrifices. Remember greater forces are fighting for us than our armies or the armies of our Allies. The unseen forces are being mobilised all over Christendom by German outrages and even deeper causes. The spirit of freedom is on the wing, the Great Creative Spirit is once more moving among the nations in their unspeakable anguish. Let us be strong and confident with the inspiration which comes from the cause for which we

are fighting, and when the end comes—and it cannot now be so far off—let us in the hour of victory recognise that it was not so much the valour and strength of our armies, but far greater and deeper forces that have carried us to victory.

I have laid emphasis on the cause of freedom for which we are fighting because I feel sure that in the grave dangers ahead of us the clear consciousness of that cause alone will strengthen us to hold on unflinchingly. And the circumstances of my own life have made me realise perhaps more than most people what that means, for I have seen what strength a people can derive from the causes for which it is fighting. In my day and country I have seen freedom go under, and I have seen freedom rise again. And I have seen the same beaten people rise again to fight for the same freedom, but no longer for themselves alone, but for the whole of the world.

And the result of their labours is written large all over Africa south of the Equator.

And to-day I see another vision. From the ancient Freedom of the City of London to the Freedom of Humanity in future! May that vision guide us through all vicissitudes to the end.

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AND
CENTRAL AFRICA

A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Savoy Hotel, London, on the occasion of the "South African Dinner" given in his honour on May 22nd, 1917.

The health of the guest was proposed by Lord Selborne, who presided.

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA

I AM deeply grateful to you for the reception which you have given me here to-night. I am thankful to you, Lord Selborne, for what you have said, even for the Platonic myth you have given us and for the conversation with the mythical lady. Your words to-night carry me back to that period in our history when I was serving under you and was a fellow-labourer with you, and what will probably remain the greatest creative epoch in the history of South Africa. And to-night again you are Chairman at this memorable meeting.

The various South African societies, together with the Imperial Institute, have combined in order to do me this honour, and I am very glad to have you all together on this occasion. I know that there are many here to-night who have, at one time or another, differed from me. Sometimes the differences have been very acute, but to-night all these differences have been swallowed up and forgotten in the great constructive tasks in which we are all engaged. It is a matter of great gratification to me to think that after all, notwithstanding all those differences in the past, you can say to-night to me, "You have not done so badly after all." This function, of all the various functions I have so far attended, appeals most to me, because it is really not in honour of me, but in honour of that far-away dear land, which most of us have served and with which most of us have

been associated in the past. To-night we are really met together here as members of the South African family. Some born into it, some married into it, some old servants who have grown grey in her hard service and who have given the best years of their lives to that service—here we can all sit together, forgetting Europe, forgetting the storms raging outside, and our minds can travel back to the sun-filled spaces of Southern Africa, to its amazing history, and its immense tasks. A great historian has said "On those whom the gods love they lavish infinite joys and infinite sorrows." On that principle surely South Africa must be a special favourite of the gods. She has known joys and sorrows; she has known the deepest abasement and she has known the highest exaltation. The history of South Africa is in many respects one of the true and great romances in modern history. One of the most wonderful episodes in that romance you will probably have the opportunity soon to see in a cinematograph film which will be produced here in London called "Winning a Continent," in which scenes from the great Boer trek into the interior are represented. I hope you will all see it.

When I look around to-night and I see all who are sitting here at this table, I feel, and you all feel, that we are lifted out of the world of commonplace into a strange world. We feel that whatever the past has been, whatever mistakes we have made—and we have all made mistakes—whatever services we have been able to render to our South Africa, a kind Providence has intervened and has woven all those mistakes and all those services into a strange and wonderful texture which we call the history of South Africa and of which we are very proud. When we look at that wonderful history we are all

cheered and encouraged to move forward in the hope that as our task has not been too difficult for us in the past it may not prove entirely beyond us in the future.

There are very grave questions before South Africa, and these questions will probably increase in magnitude after this war. Now the Ten Plagues are being poured out over Europe in this war, and they will be followed by the Exodus in due course. You will see very large numbers of people, after this war, sick of the Old World and looking to the young countries for a new home where they may find peace. I am sure that many of you will find in our large country, our wide spaces, just that repose for body and soul that you desire. We look forward to great times, to great developments in South Africa, and it will be the task of our Governments in South Africa to make the best use of the unique opportunities for a forward move that will be presented by the times that will follow the war.

But in South Africa we always feel that there is something more. With us it is never a question of merely material progress and of prosperity, although we are always very eager to have those good things too; we always feel that under our peculiar historical and racial conditions there are very large political problems in the background which always press for solution. And that is what gives a profound interest to life in South Africa. We have made very great progress in recent years. If you remember that it was within seven years of the Boer War that we had all the British Colonies of South Africa united in one great Union you will see how great and rapid that progress has been. But although we have achieved political union, our aim has always been far greater; we have aimed not only at political union, but

also at national unity; and when you have to deal with very hard-headed races, such as our people in South Africa, both English and Dutch, you can well understand that it takes more than seven years to bring about that consummation. We have grave difficulties in this respect. We have different racial strains and different political tendencies. We have people in South Africa who prefer isolation, who prefer to stand aside from the great currents that are carrying South Africa to her new and greater destiny. These are not merely Dutch, many of them are English. We have English fellow-citizens who will always remain English, to whom even the sunshine and the wide spaces of South Africa are not sufficient to bring about the great transformation of soul. We look forward patiently in such cases to the next generation. We have also a large section of my own people, the Dutch people in South Africa, who think that the best policy for them is to stand aside and to remain isolated. They think that in that way they will be better able to preserve their language, their traditions, and their national type, and that they will in that way not be swallowed up and be submerged by the new currents. They point to the precedent of Canada, where French-Canadians are also standing aside from the general current of Canadian life and national development for the same reasons. Now, you know, *that* is the issue which is being fought out now in South Africa, and has been fought out in recent years more acutely than ever before. The policy General Botha and his associates have stood for is that we must have national unity in South Africa as the one true basis of future stability and strength—and that national unity is entirely consistent with the preservation of our language, our traditions, our cultural interests, and

all that is dear to us in our past. The view we have taken is this, that the different elements in our white populations ought really to be used to build up a stronger and more powerful nation than would have been possible if we had consisted purely of one particular strain. All great Imperial peoples really are a mixture of various stocks. Your own history is one of the completest proofs of that doctrine, and it is only in recent years that this remarkable doctrine of the pure race has come into vogue, and largely in Germany. The man who has preached that doctrine most eloquently is a Germanised Englishman, Houston Chamberlain. The doctrine is to the effect that the governing races of the world are pure races, and that they simply debase themselves and become degenerate if mixed with alien blood. They must remain pure, and in so far as they do so they will play a great part in the world. It is more than hinted at that the German race must guide the world because it is one of these pure races. What arrant nonsense! We do not pretend in South Africa to listen to these syren voices. We want to create a blend out of the various nationalities and to create a new South African nation out of our allied racial stocks, and if we succeed in doing that we shall achieve a new nationality embracing and harmonising our various traits and blending them all into a richer national type than could otherwise have been achieved. The ideal of national unity means a continuous effort towards better relations, towards mutual respect and forbearance, towards co-operation, and that breadth of view and character which will be the most potent instrument for dealing with our other problems. Although in South Africa our national progress is marked by the ox-wagon

and not by the train or aeroplane, I am sure in the end we shall achieve success and a new nationhood.

And this is all the more important because in South Africa we are not merely a white man's country. Our problem of white racial unity is being solved in the midst of the black environment in South Africa. Whether we shall succeed in solving that other larger question of the black man's future depends on many factors on which no one could feel very much assurance at present. We know that on the African Continent at various times there have been attempts at civilisation. We read of a great Saracen civilisation in Central Africa, and of the University of Timbuctoo, to which students came from other parts of the world. Rhodesia also shows signs of former civilisation. Where are those civilisations now? They have all disappeared, and barbarism once more rules over the land and makes the thoughtful man nervous about the white man's future in Southern Africa. There are many people in South Africa—and not very foolish people either—who do not feel certain that our white experiment will be a permanent success, or that we shall ever succeed in making a white man's land of Southern Africa; but, at any rate, we mean to press on with the experiment. It has now been in progress for some two hundred and fifty years, as you know, and perhaps the way we have set about it may be the right way. Former civilisations in Africa have existed mostly for the purpose of exploiting the native populations, and in that way, and probably also through intermixture of blood carried in them the seeds of decay. We have started by creating a new white base in South Africa, and to-day we are in a position to move forward towards the North and the civilisation of the African Continent. Our

problem is a very difficult one, however; quite unique in its way. In the United States there is a similar problem of black and white with the negro population. But there you have had an overwhelming white population with a smaller negro element in the midst of it. In South Africa the situation is reversed. There you have an overwhelming black population with a small white population which has got a footing there and which has been trying to make that footing secure for more than two centuries.

You will therefore understand that a problem like that is not only uncertain in its ultimate prospects, but is most difficult in the manner that it should be dealt with. Much experience has been gained, and there are indications that we have come to some certain results. You remember how some Christian missionaries, who went to South Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century in their full belief in human brotherhood, proceeded to marry native wives to prove the faith that was in them. We have gained sufficient experience since then to smile at that point of view. With us there are certain axioms now in regard to the relations of white and black; and the principal one is "no intermixture of blood between the two colours." It is probably true that earlier civilisations have largely failed because that principle was never recognised, civilising races being rapidly submerged in the quicksands of the African blood. It has now become an accepted axiom in our dealings with the natives that it is dishonourable to mix white and black blood.

We have settled another axiom, and that is that in all our dealings with the natives we must build our practice on what I believe Lord Cromer has called the granite bedrock of the Christian moral code. Honesty, fair-play,

justice, and the ordinary Christian virtues must be the basis of all our relations with the natives. We don't always practise them. We don't always practise that exalted doctrine, but the vast bulk of the white population in South Africa believe sincerely in that doctrine as correct and true; they are convinced that they must stick to the fundamental Christian morality if they want to do their duty to the natives and make a success of their great country. Of course, this doctrine applies to other countries besides South Africa. If you ask me what is wrong with Europe—although no wise man should express an opinion on such a great matter—I should say the moral basis in Europe, the bedrock of the Christian moral code, has become undermined and can no longer support all that superstructure of economic and industrial prosperity which the last century has built up on it, and the vast whole is now sagging. The same argument applies much more to the natives of Africa. Natives have the simplest minds, understand only the simplest ideas or ideals, and are almost animal-like in the simplicity of their minds and ways. If we want to make a success of our native policy in South Africa we shall have to proceed on the simplest moral lines and on that basis of the Christian moral code. I think we are all agreed on those two points—on what I have called the racial and moral axioms.

I wish we had made more progress and also discovered some political axiom and knowledge how to deal politically with our immense native problem. But although in this regard nothing can be taken as axiomatic, we have gained a great deal of experience in our history, and there is now shaping in South Africa a policy which is becoming expressed in our institutions which may have very far-reaching effects in the future civilisation of the Af-

rican Continent. We have realised that political ideas which apply to our white civilisation largely do not apply to the administration of native affairs. To apply the same institutions on an equal basis to white and black alike does not lead to the best results, and so a practice has grown up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions—giving the natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for whites. It may be that on those parallel lines we may yet be able to solve a problem which may otherwise be insoluble. More than twenty years ago, as many of you remember, an experiment in native self-government was begun by Cecil Rhodes in the old Cape Colony which gave local institutions to the natives in the Glen Grey reserve. That principle has been extended over a large part of the old Transkeian territories, and so successful has it been that when we came to framing the Act of Union an appendix was added about the future administration of the Protectorates when they should become incorporated into the Union. This appendix was largely the work of our chairman, Lord Selborne. He fought with extraordinary tenacity for that appendix, and I am not sure, although I did not see the importance of the matter in those days, whether in the distant future the South Africa Act will not be remembered as much for its appendix as for its principal contents. This appendix laid down that the native territories in South Africa should be governed apart from the Parliamentary institutions of the Union and on different lines which would achieve the principle of native self-government. Subsequently Commissions have been appointed in South Africa to inquire into native questions, and more and more the trend of opinion has hardened in the same direction. We have felt more

and more that if we are to solve our native question it is useless to try to govern black and white in the same system, to subject them to the same institutions of government and legislation. They are different not only in colour but in minds and in political capacity, and their political institutions should be different, while always proceeding on the basis of self-government. One very important Commission had, I believe, Sir Godfrey Lagden as chairman, and as a result of that and other Commissions we have now legislation before the Parliament of the Union in which an attempt is made to put into shape these ideas I am talking of, and to create all over South Africa, wherever there are any considerable native communities, independent self-governing institutions for them. Instead of mixing up black and white in the old haphazard way, which instead of lifting up the black degraded the white, we are now trying to lay down a policy of keeping them apart as much as possible in our institutions. In land ownership settlement and forms of government we are trying to keep them apart, and in that way laying down in outline a general policy which it may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solution of our native problem. Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your white communities, which will govern themselves separately according to the accepted European principles. The natives will, of course, be free to go and to work in the white areas, but as far as possible the administration of white and black areas will be separated, and such that each will be satisfied and developed according to its

own proper lines. This is the attempt which we are making now in South Africa to solve the juxtaposition of white and black in the same country, and although the principles underlying our legislation could not be considered in any way axiomatic, I am sure that we are groping towards the right lines, which may in the end tend to be the solution of the most difficult problem confronting us.

As I have already said, we have started in previous times to civilise Africa from the North. All these attempts at civilisation from the North have failed. We now try to proceed from the other end—from South Africa. We have built up a stable white community in the south of the Continent and given them a training for two hundred years, and they have learned the ways of Africa, which are not the ways of other parts of the world. And now we are ready to go forward, and, as you know, in the last few decades enormous progress has already been made in this expansion towards the North. All our people in South Africa, English as well as Dutch, have taken part in this great movement towards the North, which is proceeding ever farther, and the time is coming when it will be almost a misnomer to speak of "South" Africa, because the northern limits of our civilisation will have gone so far that it will be almost impossible to use the word "South" any more except in reminder of our original starting-point.

Great developments have taken place not only in Southern Africa, but in Central Africa in our day. You will remember that only fifty or sixty years ago Central Africa was a place for the explorer and discoverer, a land of mystery, of pigmies and other wonders of which we read in the books of Stanley and others. In a couple of

decades Central Africa has marched right into the centre of world politics, and to-night in this great assembly we are not only interested in Southern Africa, but also those other enormous territories further north which our troops from South Africa and other parts of the Empire have conquered and occupied. What the future of that country will be no one knows. I must say that my experience in East Africa has opened my eyes to many very serious dangers that threaten the future not only of Southern Africa, but also of Europe. We have seen, what we had never known before, what enormously valuable military material lay in the Black Continent. You are aware of the great German scheme which existed before the war, and which no doubt is still in the background of many minds in Germany, of creating a great Central African Empire which would embrace not only the Cameroons and East Africa, but also the Portuguese Colonies and the Congo—an extensive area which would have a very large population and would not only be one of the most valuable tropical parts of the world, but in which it would be possible to train one of the most powerful black armies of the world. We were not aware of the great military value of the natives until this war. This war has been an eye-opener in many new directions. It will be a serious question for the statesmen of the Empire and Europe, whether they are going to allow a state of affairs like that to be possible, and to become a menace not only to Africa, but perhaps to Europe itself. I hope that one of the results of this war will be some arrangement or convention among the nations interested in Central Africa by which the military training of natives in that area will be prevented, as we have prevented it in South Africa. It can well be foreseen that armies may

yet be trained there, which under proper leading might prove a danger to civilisation itself. I hope that will be borne in mind when the day for the settlement in Africa comes up for consideration.

You will have further questions in regard to the territorial settlement of Central Africa which will follow the war. We are now, after the conquest of the German Colonies, in the happy position of having a through land route from Egypt to the Cape. We are in the secure position of having no danger on the Atlantic seaboard or on the Indian seaboard to our very essential sea communications as an Empire. What will happen to these communications after the settlement will depend on that settlement itself, but I hope it will be borne in mind that East Africa gives us not only this through land communication from one end of the Continent to the other, but that East Africa also ensures to us the safety of the sea route around the Cape and the sea route through the Red Sea to the East. It is a matter of gratification to us South Africans here to-night that South African troops have taken such a large and leading share in securing these extremely valuable results. I sincerely hope that, whatever settlement is come to, these larger considerations which I have referred to will be borne in mind.

We shall always have a difficult question not only in Central, but in Southern Africa. Unlike other British Dominions, our future as a white civilisation is not assured for the reasons which I have given. Many thoughtful people are in doubt about our future, and in any case no cheap and easy victory will be scored in South Africa. We know we have tremendous problems to contend with. We know we have tremendous tasks before us, and in dealing with these problems and in trying to fulfil these

tasks one generation of South Africans after another will brace its nerves and strengthen its intellect and broaden its mind and character. Although these difficulties may seem to us, and indeed are, grave perils to our future, I trust that in the long run these difficulties may prove a blessing in disguise, and may prove to have afforded the training school for a large-minded, broad-minded, magnanimous race, capable not only of welding together different racial elements into a new and richer national type, but capable of dealing as no other white race in history has ever dealt with the question of the relations between black and white.

Our future is difficult and uncertain, and I would ask you—here in the centre of the Empire—to bear in mind that we in South Africa are dealing with enormous problems on which you and we do not always see eye to eye. But when differences of opinion do occur from time to time, I ask you generously to bear in mind that we in South Africa are dealing, as well as we can, with as great problems as you are ever called upon to face in your more complex society.

RUSSIA
THE NEED OF DISCIPLINE AND
ORGANISATION

*A Speech delivered by General Smuts at the Russian
Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries on May 30th, 1917.*

RUSSIA

THE NEED OF DISCIPLINE AND ORGANISATION

You often see in the papers, and no doubt you hear privately expressed, a concern about the situation in Russia. These expressions are sometimes distorted and, far away, they are misunderstood, with the result that our very best friends in Russia are under the impression that people in England and other democratic countries are critical of what has been happening in Russia. So far from being critical, our sympathy is almost too deep for words. These expressions of concern are due entirely to the solicitude we feel for the Russian people in the trials through which they are passing, and to the solicitude we also feel for everybody in this terrible crisis. I have heard nowhere in England in the few months that I have been here, and since the Russian Revolution, a word from anybody tending to minimise the enormous importance of the events that have transpired in Russia. Everybody here, all classes of the community, are impressed with the fact that this is probably the greatest event in the whole of the war. If nothing further were to happen and no other result but this Revolution, then posterity will say that this war has not been in vain.

Two recent events seem to me to put this enormous panorama of events in the right setting—the revolution in Russia and the coming in of the United States. If

these two events had not happened, then I think there would not have been a true and correct perspective for this vast drama which is now being enacted. If America had not come in, it would have been an Old-World business, and any peace which would have followed in due course, however good, however democratic, would have been an Old-World peace, an Old-World arrangement. But America has come in; the New has come in to redress the balance of the Old World; and in that way we have the assurance that the peace that will come eventually—and we pray that it will come as early as possible—will be a world peace; will not be merely a European peace, but a world peace embracing all the nations and all the democracies of the world.

With regard to the other event, which is possibly of even greater importance—the Revolution in Russia—this seems to me to bring about an achievement, a result, which it otherwise might have taken another fifty years or a century of tragedy and of suffering to have brought about. The enormous strain of this war has broken the bonds of the Russian people, and once more they stand free and able to direct their own destinies. I can assure the Russian people that there is not in this country a man, a woman, or a child that does not sympathise profoundly with them, that does not rejoice in the heartiest manner with Russia in the events that have taken place there recently.

I remember that the Germans have always held up the Russians as a barbarous Power. They have always used this argument even against England. They say, "See what you are doing now. You are a part of the great Teutonic race; you are a civilised Power, not so highly civilised as we are, it is true; you are lagging be-

hind somewhat. At any rate, we will give you the benefit of the doubt, and call you a civilised branch of the great Teutonic race. See what you are doing. You are helping the degenerate Latins of Southern Europe, France, and Italy; and on the other hand you are helping that barbarous power of Russia which can only be a danger to European peace and civilisation." That is the German argument. They look upon the Russians as barbarians, and upon the Russian power as a threat to the future of civilisation.

I have heard these arguments often in private conversation, and read them in books and in articles, but what is the truth? What was the state of affairs one hundred years ago under Napoleon? Who saved Europe then? Was it not the "barbarous" power of Russia? When Prussia was under the heel of France, and the Prussian King a satellite of Napoleon, who saved Europe and destroyed Napoleon's army? Russia on that occasion, as on previous occasions, came in to save the world, and our hope and prayer in this great struggle is that Russia will do it once more. We wish the people of Russia well. We look forward to the day when that enormous Power which is now seething in the revolutionary crisis through which it is passing will concentrate itself, organise itself, and discipline itself, and then march again at the head of civilisation, and help to break down this much-vaunted German Kultur, which is now the real threat to the civilisation of the world.

There is another point. Russia has always and consistently fought Turkey—that barbarous Power which has been trying to overwhelm Christendom from the South. All the other European Powers have anything but a clean record in this matter; even we in England have

coquetted from time to time with the "bloody Turk." Russia has never done it. Russia has always been true to her insight, her instincts, and she has gone for the Turk whenever she has seen him. In this war nobody has struck harder blows at the Turk than Russia, and it is our wish and our hope and our trust that Russia will continue to bear her share in smashing this power of the Turk, because if there is one result we want to achieve in this war it is that the Turk shall never tyrannise any more over any Christian population. We have nothing against the Turks in their homeland, but we must see, and Russia must help us in bringing it about, that this tyranny with which Turkey has ruled over Christian nations must cease for ever.

One of the results of the war will be the freeing and liberation of all the peoples who have groaned for hundreds of years under Turkish power. That has been the traditional policy of Russia, and we hope and trust she will remain true to that policy, and will see that no Christian nation is left under the rule of Turkey at the end of this war.

Autocratic Russia has played a great part in the history of the world, but I am sure there is a far greater future still before free democratic Russia. But, of course, young liberty is like young wine—it mounts to your head sometimes, and liberty, as a force in the world, requires organisation and discipline. Autocracy is usually organised, but freedom is never properly organised. It acts by itself and its own internal impulse, but in times like these there must be much more than merely idealistic impulse. With the impulse of freedom—a noble sensation of freedom, moving through a great people—there must be organisation, and there must be discipline. I feel

sure that is what the Russian people are determined to achieve. They are learning to-day the greatest lesson of life—that to be free you must work very hard and school yourself to self-discipline. They have the sensation of freedom, now that their bonds and shackles are gone, and no doubt they feel the joy, the intoxication, of their new experience; but they are living in a world which is not governed by formulas, however cleverly devised, but in a world of brute force, and unless that world is smashed even liberty itself will suffer and perish.

Germany, of course, is prepared to do anything. She will swallow all the nice formulas which Russian democracy or any other democracy may devise, and she will swallow Russia and democracy as well. She is clever enough to do that. She sits to-day with Belgium, Serbia, most of Rumania, and twenty-five millions of Russians, and people who formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; she has swallowed an enormous portion of Europe. Certainly, no word that official Germany has spoken leads us to infer that she will disgorge all these without being forced to do so. The official words spoken by the German Chancellor are all to this effect—they are prepared to make peace, longing for peace, thinking of peace, and praying for peace on the basis of the German victories, that is, on the basis of what they have bitten off and are now trying to digest in Central Europe and in other parts of Europe. Such a peace will never happen. You may talk about peace without annexations or indemnities, but you must remember you are talking to a people who will swallow every formula, and swallow you in the end if you are not careful.

There is no doubt that this is a case for hard fighting. Germany, as Bismarck once said, is founded on blood and

iron, and not on ideals and formulas; and what was brought about by blood and iron will have to be undone and smashed in the same way. Then only will it be possible for the Russian democracy, like other democracies in the world, to feel safety and security once more, and go towards the future with a feeling of optimism. I will therefore, while expressing the profoundest sympathy with our Russian comrades and the Russian people, say to them: Do not forget the others who are suffering. Do not forget Belgium.

Belgium is crushed under the German heel to-day, but it is not of her choosing and her doing. The German Chancellor has himself admitted it was a sin that had been done, but they will never renounce the evil fruits of their victory unless forced to do so. I would appeal to our Russian brethren to remember Belgium. I have had occasion to see in other parts of the world what gallant efforts Belgium has been making. In East Africa and in Central Africa I saw some thousands of Belgian troops fighting, as it were, next door to me, fighting bravely and well and with the best results. As regards the Belgian people, not only the English, but all the other democracies in the world ought to stand by them to the very end for the services they have rendered; and I am sure that nothing is further from the minds of the Russian democracy than to leave her Belgian ally in the lurch in the agony through which she is passing now. I am sure nothing is further from their minds, whatever formula may be for the moment devised in order to find a way to peace.

Take again the case of Serbia. Serbia was the reason why Russia went to war. She was going to be crushed under the Austrian heel, and Russia said this shall not

be allowed. Serbia has in that way become the occasion probably of the greatest movement for freedom the world has ever seen. Are we going to forget Serbia? No! We must stand by those little martyr peoples who have stood by the great causes of the world. If the great democracies of the world become tired, if they become faint, if they halt by the way, if they leave those little ones in the lurch, then they shall pay for it in future wars more bloody than human eye can foresee. I am sure we shall stand by those little ones. They have gone under, but we have not gone under. England and America, France and Russia, have not gone under, and we shall see them through, and shame on us if ever the least thought enters our minds of not seeing them through.

I need not refer to the other smaller countries who have gone under, but we who are strong, we who have achieved power, have also the heart and courage to see it through, and to see that peace is made which shall bring a free world not only for the big but for the little ones. I am sure that in saying this I am expressing the thoughts and feelings of every Englishman and every Russian and every democrat in the world.

You in this country have been accustomed for hundreds of years to democratic government. Democracy is in your blood, and organisation and discipline are part of your national culture. But other people are not as equally favoured as you in that respect. You have been divided off from the world, and you have been free to develop free institutions and free modes of life which make you now the bulwark of liberty. Russia has not attained that position yet, and she is passing through this tremendous struggle of trying to create, during the greatest

war that has ever been seen, institutions for her internal government, organisation, and discipline.

I cannot too strongly impress upon the Russian people that they must see this thing through and must achieve success in their internal organisation. They must have discipline and organisation, not only in the armies at the front, but in all their transport services, in their factories, in all the activities of life far behind the lines. If they will to be free they must also will to organise and discipline themselves, and in such a way conserve this great, priceless gift which Providence has now put into their hands. English people wish them the greatest success in their efforts.

We have achieved now what otherwise would have been impossible—a union of all the free democracies in the world. Now for the first time you have the great historical issue brought before you in the sharpest form. On the one hand you have the autocracies of Germany, Austria, and Turkey. What a combination! You might even add the Devil to that combination, and I think he is at present their strongest ally. On the other hand, you have the free nations of the world, who never dreamt of this business, who have been pounced upon, and who have fought to gain time in order that freedom may have the chance to organise itself in this great conflict. We have had that time. The war has lasted long enough for us to organise ourselves and prepare for this struggle. Now the free democracies of the world are in a position to move forward towards ending this war. Let nobody halt. America has come in, and Russia, which has already borne such enormous burdens, will not faint by the way. I know she will bestir herself and exert her-

self to the utmost, and in this way we shall have the union of free democratic Powers of the world arrayed against the three, if not the four, I have mentioned. I know victory is in sight.

DEMOCRACY AND THE WAR

*General Smuts (an interview by Edward Marshall.
The Curtis Brown News Bureau).
June, 1917.*

DEMOCRACY AND THE WAR

General Smuts was speaking very slowly as we sat at a great window looking out upon the mist-bound Thames. His calm-eyed face, thoughtful with that thoughtfulness which comes only to men who have lived much in the open, alone in wide spaces, was smiling confidently. We had been talking of America's entrance into the great war and he had reached the point where he was willing to estimate for me its meaning.

Here was a democrat of democrats, a man for the second time involved in a great struggle for ideals which in human life is wagered against human life with freedom as the ultimate stake. His first fight had been against England when he led the Boers in South Africa; his second is with England, and in it he represents the reorganised, revived, reconstituted South Africa, now fighting as a great dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, during the greatest of all wars.

There is double the reason why the Central Powers must be defeated now that the States have entered. Victory now has come to mean a closer union of democracies, a union of democracies so close and of democracies so great and strong that the result can be nothing other than the disintegration of the old order. The struggle of the Teutonic Powers is the last effort of old, feudal Europe to block human progress, and now all progressive humanity is arrayed in opposition to it.

In America you ended the old order more than a century ago, and the French Revolution, which on this side was the beginning of its crumbling, could not have won without your example—could not have begun without your stimulus; but the French Revolution only gave to France a partial democracy. Britain through the evolution of her government only partly has achieved democracy.

This war means that here in Europe will be fully realised the same achievement, which, already, you have carried to completion. It is especially fitting that you, in the United States, should take a hand in the last and greatest act leading to the downfall of the last of the old military autocracies. One—Russia—already has gone, under the tremendous pressure of this crisis. Turkey is breaking up. Only the Austro-German combination, its two component parts identical in aims and methods, now remains. The combination must be broken, the solidity of each part must be cracked. And the cracking is already audible. The freemen of Europe are encouraged, are delighted, because America is helping in the effort to accomplish all of this.

After this great task has been well done, real co-operation between free nations will be possible. 'Then for the first time will it be quite sane and reasonable to talk about the end of wars. Humanity demands a League of Peace of some effective kind, but secrecy breeds irresponsibility. Irresponsibility in Government is dangerous. Germany for many years has been preparing for this war—and no one knew. Not public opinion but individual ambition ruled Germany, and Germany led Austria. Government by those who are not held accountable to the great mass can work in secret. A League of Peace must be

impossible while this is true of a great Power. Not until this ceases may humanity feel certain that any of its treaties, solemnly attested though they be, may not be regarded as mere scraps of paper.

This war is a great battle against feudalism, and that battle never could be won effectively were not the United States one of its participants. The business is the business of America quite as definitely as it is the business of the British Empire or of France, or Italy, or Belgium. It is the Armageddon of humanity's long struggle against feudalism.

It would have been a world-disaster which would have harmed the future beyond estimate if America, the mainstay of the great new forces, had not come in. She fought this same fight for herself; one of the privileges which she won with victory was the sublime right to unselfishness. It was she who welcomed the new France born with the Republic, and now she sets her seal upon what well may be the final fight for freedom among the nations of the world. How heartily we welcome her we hope she understands.

Really this war is the direct offspring of your own war for independence. That gave birth, undoubtedly, to the French Revolution, and that, in turn, brought true democracy to Europe. It gave Britain her democracy. As a matter of fact, the influence of that wonderful stirring of the souls of men which made you free started this world business; it has had its vast effect even upon details, for nothing other than your war of 1776 lies at the basis of the Russian overturn.

Now, however, your influence will be far more than psychological. It will be important also in the military victory which is to come to the Allies; but if America

is to help to victory the great new forces of which she is the exponent, she must take her proper place.

If America had not come in there would have been the gravest danger that the great combat might lose its real perspective and true setting and degenerate into a mere Old World struggle, certainly for liberty and for democracy, but sure to terminate in an Old World settlement.

Now, with you in the actual fighting it will have a world-wide meaning and an epoch-making ending.

For the first time the New World will come in 'to redress the balance of the old.' Canning used that phrase with regard to the Monroe Doctrine, when the autocrats of Europe wished to interfere with the independence of South America. One hundred years later, not too soon after he foretold it, it is coming true.

The war must end in the triumph of democracy, but that will not mean the universal democratisation of the nations which will be affected. Humanity does not work so fast. The French Revolution required a century of time in which to find fruition, for its influence is evident in many very modern things. The unification of Italy is one of them, the union of that Germany which has put its union to so bad a use is one of them. This war is a greater one, and its effects will be still more momentous.

What they will be no man may venture to predict. Something will happen which will be greater than the Holy Roman Empire's and mediæval Europe's cracking up. It will bring humanity together. It will mean a step toward the co-ordination of free nations, and that will mean the further spread of freedom beyond the boundaries even of nations which at present live in liberty.

International co-operation will be substituted to a new extent for that international competition which has brought all wars, including this one. Already has been born a concert of military and diplomatic action among the Allies, indicated by continual conferences in the common cause, which are tending to impress, alike upon the peoples and their leaders, that internationally as well as in the case of individuals group-thought is better than one-man- or one-nation-thought.

The world is beginning to piece a new machine together for its future governance. In England, France, and Italy this is plain enough; in Russia, of course, the signs are so unmistakable as to be epoch-making.

Autonomy has not been interfered with. Each State retains its sovereignty. But each tremendous individual machine works smoothly in close harmony with all the others toward a common end. And now into this co-operation the greatest of the world's Republics has advanced! A century ago all this would have been impossible.

This fine, significant, and fruitful co-operation will not cease with the cessation of the war. Free democracies throughout the world will be in close touch with other free democracies. The absolute governments must go. In that will lie a guarantee of peace—the first the world has known. In other words, this war will be a peace-maker, although it may seem like an effort of far vision to predict that now.

Of course, this could not be if Democracy should be defeated. If Germany should win all would be lost for generations. The great task would be left for toilsome and laborious redoing.

Centuries ago there was a time when here in Europe

there was far more unity than since has been the case. That was in the days of Papal Primacy and that Holy Roman Empire which finally broke up. France was the worst sinner against this measurably good condition. Her policy of conquest finally became incarnated in Napoleon and his dream of empire.

It was that dream of the great, magnificent, disastrous Frenchman which is principally responsible for the grim fact that coincident with the growth of Democracy's fine vision has been a growth of military monarchy. The Kaiser's sinister career has been modelled on Napoleon's. It has not been a modern dream, and so must fade. It has intensely lacked reality.

Like two thunderclouds approaching one another these influences, that of the Kaiser, with his mad reversion to the days of mediævalism, and Democracy, with its prophecies of freedom for the future of mankind, have been in opposition, and Democracy must win.

The world required the shock to wake it up. England herself was slipping from the track. Under Disraeli she thought that she must be a military nation bent upon Imperialism. She went in for it, and the trial came finally in South Africa. The British victory over the Boers was a great test. A cheap and easy victory would have strengthened what were then the strong imperial tendencies of England and the British. But that tremendously exhausting struggle, maintained by one of the world's smallest peoples, taught the British people that the Boers were fighting, in some measure, for Britain's own traditional ideals. That meant that when the British won military victory so great a change was found to have been brought about in their *moral* that not only the

two small Republics, but that which needed to be conquered in England, all three had met defeat.

I believe that the Boer War, too, like your American and the French Revolutions, had an immense influence upon history; that it is to some extent that influence which the world now is feeling in the wonderful co-operation between free peoples to which I have referred. The Boer War forced anew upon the British people the realisation of those fine ideals for which at bottom they invariably feel sympathy.

And so the ending of the present mighty war in a triumph for the Allies will not and must not mean merely a military victory. All real victories are more than military victories. It will and must result in the establishment of the moral, free choice of peoples and nations with regard to their own fate. Thus only can the infinite struggle produce an effect sufficiently beneficial to the future to justify its mighty cost in any sense.

This war is not directed by the Allies against the German people. Military imperialism is the foe the Allies fight, and within another ten years, had the war not come, Freedom, which never properly has been organised, would have fallen prey to her great enemies. In such a space, short though it seems to be, Germany well might have grown so powerful that she could have put humanity in bondage for another century.

Democracy was not prepared for war, autocracy was ready; but Democracy fought bitterly for time and won it. Give Democracy that one thing, time, and always it will win. Always time will put upon the side of true Democracy the vast battalions of the imponderables, of the unmaterial but powerful forces, spiritual, mental, psychological.

To me the most impressive thing about this war is not its slaughter of the guilty or the innocent, is not its cost in property destroyed and money spent with maddened lavishness upon the instruments of death. It is the fact that it has linked together for combat the forces of Democracy, the fact that through it liberty at last is organised.

The forces of Democracy never have been organised before, and their coherent jointure has been a mighty task. Two years were needed to induce America, the greatest of free peoples, to step into the battle-ranks, and the work of breaking down what of the old and wrong was left in Britain and other democratic countries is not yet entirely accomplished. The thing is epoch-making. We cannot at this time conceive the vast importance of these great events. Mankind a century hence will only start to learn the whats and whys of it all.

Without the entrance of America the great thing could not have been done; and the necessity for her co-operation was less material than psychological. It is that which makes the fact that she has joined the fighting-line so wonderfully, so epochally fine.

I asked the great South African if he had an especial message for America.

A most important one. It is: Press on! Do not delay. Be energetic, keen, and wise. There is intense need for hurry. Much time has been required by Congress to break away from its traditions; you have not been too early; but we hope that now the start is made the movement will be rapid. And we have faith that it will be. We know America.

In the last stages of the war America must stand as the great protagonist for liberty. I hope that she will bend all her vast energies toward quick participation in the fight, serving not merely as a recruiting ground for us, but developing as, perhaps, the greatest warrior of us all for liberty. You are fresh. Yours is the land of individual initiative. Your separate citizens can realise, perhaps better than the single citizens of Europe, the magnitude of the great causes which are jeopardised. You really have fought for all these causes in your own two great wars.

You have youth and you have vigour. Your people have been educated, and what a stroke for education it will be when by their fighting they shall demonstrate to all the world that the best fighting man as well as the best working man is he who has been educated! Germany but half understood the secret of the best creation of real citizenship through education. Because of your fine educational systems, and their preservation of the individual, I am sure that when your men come over we shall find them the best soldiers in the world. Being educated, they will know the vast importance of the cause for which we fight. And there will be among them no mere automatons. Their knowledge and adaptability, I am sure, will make them the finest soldiers that the world has seen.

The fact that this is really a war for peace will give it an immense appeal among your people. The results, I am quite confident, will make the Allies glad and Germany regret that America has been a pacifist nation. This war is not a struggle for military dominion. I am sure that tens of thousands of your German-blooded citizens will feel it to be really a fight against exactly

that and see that, being such a fight against it, it actually is a battle for the soul of Germany. I am sure that there are those among them who will wish to fight with us because of their conviction that, as true German patriots, they must help their nation toward real freedom and democracy. Actually to fight for the Allies is to fight for what is best in Germany herself.

The American of German descent can participate in the great struggle with as good a heart as any other American. He will be fighting for his Motherland as well as for the land of his adoption. Many Germans know that; I have reason to be sure of it. Being pulled in one direction by their ties of blood and in the other by their ties of human interest and true values, and having been educated in the identity of freedom by residence in a free country, I feel confident that most of them will realise that this really is not a fight against Germany, but a struggle to pull her into line with the progressive forces of the world.

Personally I have not the slightest feeling against Germans. I am positive that the victory of the Allies will redound as much to their advantage as to that of anybody. In the heart of the Allied soldiers or in the plans of the Allied Governments there is no wish to crush Germany as a State or even to minimise her importance. The Allies but insist—and this they do insist—that she must cease to terrorise the world.

For years her mistaken policies have kept the peoples of the earth in apprehension of exactly that which now is happening, and this humanity no longer will endure. She has been inoculating the whole world with the virus of militarism, and this has tended to dislocate progress.

Germany always will remain among the most potent

of the nations. She has been so highly organised that always she will be in the van of progress. It would be the world's loss if she were permanently expelled from that high position; it was the world's loss when she abandoned it for retrogression. All Germans but the Prussians have been a peaceful people always. But either from Frederick the Great or from Napoleon the Prussians learnt a devilish lesson, and belief in what was thus established in their minds must be knocked out of them.

Especially to the young American there is much worth study in the situation as it stands. Let me speak particularly to him.

What are you? You have been born into a system of liberal individualism. You are fortunate. Here in Europe children are brought up in an old system. You are a free man, an individual co-equal with all other citizens.

You are not an atom in a stratification. That is the chief advantage of your citizenship of the United States. Not being stratified you have all of life to move about in.

It may be difficult, because of this very strength of your individualism, to lick you into shape as a great fighting force, an army; but when this once is done you will be wonderfully powerful. When you come over here to fight numbers of things will chafe you, but you will learn much quicker than the European soldier can learn.

We in South Africa are intensely individual, fed upon the milk of social and political freedom, and I do not hesitate to say that because of that very fact South Africans are now among the best of the world's soldiers. There are no soldiers like freemen, and you, the young men of America whose high destiny it will be to battle

in this war, will be among the best of the world's best. You, representing democracy, will beat Germany, representing autocracy, at everything she undertakes.

One lesson I have derived from a study of American history and problems is the danger America has incurred on various critical occasions through the failure of her statesmen and public men sufficiently to support her military authorities. For example, it is clear that in your War of Independence Congress went as near as possible to bringing general disaster, and that had it not been for the invincible spirit of George Washington, with whom Congress for ever was interfering to the upset of his well-laid plans, your struggle would have failed.

In your Civil War much that might have been done at once and effectively was postponed because your Congress would not trust your leaders. Only when Lincoln was able to give a free hand to Grant was victory achieved. This did not occur till scores of thousands had been slaughtered needlessly. The deaths of those brave thousands may be charged directly to political interference with the military plans of your accepted but not sufficiently powerful leaders.

Now, as you approach participation in this struggle, take thought of these things. Your people do not realise the magnitude of this enormous task. It may mean for you a far greater struggle than your Civil War. It may well be the greatest effort of your history. It is of the utmost and far-reaching importance that you should take thought of the great lessons taught by the experience of your Lincoln and your Grant.

You should very carefully, very solemnly, arrange the best military machine which you can possibly devise. You should organise it and equip it with the best thought

of your national genius. Once built, this great machine should be placed in charge of men so shrewdly chosen that to them you can feel safe in giving an absolutely free hand. Do not let your Government pull this way and your Congress pull the other while your military commanders strain in a third direction. Take to heart the mighty lessons of your own and every other nation's history.

The relations between your civil authorities should be such that, having settled your military direction, they will let it work with the least possible interference, for the least friction means the greatest efficiency.

The salvation of Britain was that at the time of the war's outbreak she had as her War Minister Lord Kitchener and left him a free hand in the organization of her armies—her armies that will win their victory after his death. In America you have no military genius in your Cabinet, nor is it necessary that you should have, but this makes it still more essential that after you have constituted your military machine as carefully as possible all political conditions should be subordinated in its operation, and that that should go forward without outside interference.

Political interference in military affairs already has caused great difficulties on this side. Avoid them. Study our mistakes. Remember those of your own wars. Avoid them now.

May I venture to express my pleasure over some things which have reached us from America as frankly as I have expressed my fears? The stand which a number of your great organisations have taken against profiteering is most gratifying to us here. Nothing could be more important. You have set a notable example in this

matter to us all—and you have done it very quickly. It looks as if such scandals as have marked the progress of the war on this side may be avoided in America.

This has been among the valuable indications that in entering this war America is doing so with the spirit that it is a holy war, waged in the justest causes for the highest, noblest principles, and that any one who tries to profit through it must be held for evermore as having passed beyond the pale. Here, in this matter, is another opportunity for the United States to set a record for the world to marvel at and follow—if it can. Personally I have no doubt that you will do it.

And before you go may I give you one more message? I should wish to direct this definitely to American women. Very keenly must they feel the reasons for and justifications of this struggle, if they would support it, for theirs will be the greatest sacrifice, that of their sweethearts, husbands, sons, and brothers, and, secondarily, often of that comfort which to women means so much.

They should realise that one of the great truths about this struggle is that it is for the position which all womanhood will hold throughout the world in days to come. This is a war for peace, and through the lack of peace the sufferings of women have been greater than the sufferings of men. It must be, and they must help to make it, the last chapter in the old book of war and horror, destruction of dear homes, rapes, massacre and outrage. They must help to make it the great end of the oppressions of all womanhood. In Europe, speaking generally, women still are held in thrall by the old feudal system, and by helping in this war with all their strength and

all their hearts and all their souls American women may do much to help to break those chains.

If Freedom wins in this war, political emancipation will be achieved by womanhood in all parts of the world.

It is the fight of womanhood as much as it is that of manhood. It has liberated many evil forces; it will liberate many forces of beneficence. Chiefest of them all will be the sane and purifying force of womanhood. Unquestionably the Allied nations represent the impulse working toward the freedom of all womanhood. The feudal impulse is to keep womanhood in subjugation, in the background.

There is every reason in the world why women in America should strive to help, strive mightily, even were they not involved through love of fathers, sons, and husbands who must join the battle-line, and by the love of their own country whose best traditions and institutions would be threatened by a German victory.

Now let me say one word to the young American who has not enlisted but is eligible for service. You are living in the greatest time of human history. You are confronted by the greatest opportunity God ever gave to any human individual to help his fellow-men, to help poor, staggering humanity to a new and brighter future. If you do not do your duty now your conscience all your life will trouble you. If you do not do your duty now you never will be able to hold up your head among your fellow freemen in the days to come. To the working men among you this must especially appeal, for to the working men this war, the winning of this war, means a new world, better conditions, a higher order.

The working man who fights in this cause is fighting for all those ideals which the labour movement in all

parts of the world, in Germany as much as elsewhere, has stood for since the days of its beginning.

Up to date the young workers of the Old World have borne nobly their part in the great struggle. The young American workers who now are called upon to help the fight may not all have the privilege of joining in the marching ranks. Indeed they must not all join them. The worker at his bench may be as useful as the soldier in his trench.

Especially will this be true of workers in your shipyards. Everything in the great war now depends upon communication and transport. In the face of the enormous destruction of shipping which already has occurred and is continuing, and the world-wide range of this war, it is impossible to do our best unless shipbuilding progress is accelerated, and there the worker of America becomes of vital world-importance.

And if the shipbuilder is a great power in this vast war the farmer is as great a one. When the ships are launched there must be food with which to fill their holds so that the people on this side who so far have been forced to bear the brunt of fighting may continue at their task. To build ships and raise potatoes, corn, and wheat—there is a truly patriotic programme for the young and old American worker, commonplace as it may sound. It is as patriotic to till fields in these days as it is to carry rifles.

When, some day, it is all over, every free citizen of the United States should have the proud consciousness that he has done his share in one way or another in the great task of making victory for Right a certainty, that he has done his share toward safeguarding the most

priceless of all humanity's good gifts, the high ideals of individuality, liberty, and free government.

Fighting side by side in the same cause we shall forget imaginary boundary lines. As the result of our joint struggle there shall grow in us a new consciousness, a world-wide sympathy, a co-operative spirit out of which a better world will come to being. Towards the certainty of this new order and the surety of this new world, no one is in a position to do more than the United States, blessed as your nation is by unexampled resources and strong after a century of freedom and half a century of peace. Now is the time when we feel sure that these immeasurably noble gifts will be turned to account in order that throughout the world may be achieved the American ideal of the freedom of the individual.

Your minute-men of 1776 fought in no nobler cause than that in which will fight your minute-men of 1917. Nothing more clearly expressed the reasons of the struggle or has done more to make all Europe understand them than the great speech of your President, Woodrow Wilson, to the League to Enforce Peace, and his still greater message to your Congress before your declaration of war. Millions in Europe whose faith was on the wane were heartened by his words and I feel sure that the American people, who have been nurtured on the milk of human freedom, will appreciate even more profoundly than Europeans can the greatness of the issues and how necessary it is that freemen everywhere should contribute to the battle, if the sacrifice is necessary, all that they possess.

We are heartened, too, by our certainty that your President stands not alone among you as the champion

of liberty. All your great leaders share his views on the great questions of this war. You have proved this through your generations from your days of Washington down to and through the days of your present President's great predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt.

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